THE EARLY HISTORY OF MULTAN

THE

Early History of Multan

By

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3. History of the Panjab.
4. History of Agra.
5. Lahore, Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS book which has served the students and the scholars for almost three quarters of a century was first published by the author, my grandfather, the late Syed Muhammad Latif, in 1891. Within a short time of its publication it acquired the reputation of being the most comprehensive and authentic History of Multan, a city which occupies a place of honour in the history of this sub-continent Unfortunately, like other works of Syed Muhammad Latif, the book has long been out of print, the few available copies being traded at exorbitantly high prices.

The ancient city of Multan has now entered a new phase of glory as one of the leading towns of Pakistan. The need for a standard reference book about its early history is more keenly felt than before. It was therefore necessary to make available to the public once again the celeberated work of Syed Muhammad Latif. This new edition is in fact part of my programme to republish all of Syed Muhammad Latif's works. The programme begain in 1957 when I brought out a new

edition of the monumental classic, *Lahore, its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*. The warm reception accorded it encouraged me to speed up the publication of other books.

The Early History of Multan is now in your hands. I am confident that both the general reader and the scholar will find the volume valuable.

Syed Muhammad Minhaj ud Din
(*Grandson of the Author*)

June 1961
147-A, Bazar Judge Muhammad Latif,
Lahore.

THE AUTHOR



The Late Syed Muhammad Latif
(1851 — 1902)

THE AUTHOR

AMONG the historians of the Indo-Pak sub-continent, Syed Muhammad Latif occupies a position of pre-eminence. His vast comprehension, deep understanding, clarity and objectivity won for him renown and admiration among the contemporary writers of the later half of the nineteenth century and even after more than fifty years of their publication his works remain the most authentic books of their kind providing a host of following scholars standard source of history. He worked with dedicated zeal in finding out historical data and his patience in the pursuit of factual knowledge continues to inspire modern research workers.

Syed Muhammad Latif was born in 1851 in Lahore in a family that had already established itself as pioneers in nascent journalism and the city's cultural reawakening. His father Syed Muhammad Azim, a man of great culture and learning, was one of the earliest leaders of journalism in this sub-continent. After receiving training in print at Delhi and in England, Syed Muhammad Azim came to

Lahore in 1849 and started the first English newspaper the *Lahore Chronicle.*[1] At a later date he started an Urdu tri-weekly called *Panjabi* and an Arabic journal *Nafa-i-Azim* in succession. These papers served the cause of education and enlightenment for a long time. Sir Charles Aitchison, the then Lt. Governor of the Panjab, wrote about him in 1885: 'His career as a journalist extended over a long period of forty years. He established the old "Lahore Chronicle" in the year 1849 and at a later date the Urdu "Panjabi," the earliest vernacular newspaper. His enterprise as a pioneer of the press in the Panjab and his intelligent appreciation of the objects and motives of government won for him the respect of eminent men of the province."[2] It was in this atmosphere of learning and cultural activity that Syed Muhammad Latif spent the formative years of his life. The eminent father's influence was lasting. He had his early education at the Calcutta University and there had the good fortune to be associated with well-known English scholars. He obtain-

1. The present *Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, is incorporating with Old Daily *Chronicle*, Lahore.
2. *Lahore, Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*, By Syed Muhammad Latif p. 342.

ed a high watermark of scholarship in Arabic, Persian and Urdu also. He could write and converse in all the four languages with equal proficiency and facility. In 1875 he was married to the niece of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. This union of two great literary families of the country was most fruitful. Assured of distinguished career Syed Muhammad Latif found his path to literary greatness in no time.

His first intellectual exercises were contributions to the journals and newspapers run by his father and soon he took to more enduring writing. He joined government service as a Reader in the Panjab Chief Court. Because of his hard work and efficacious conduct he was soon promoted as Extra Assistant Judicial Commissioner. Later he served as District and Sessions Judge in various districts of the Panjab and in 1902 was nominated as a Judge of the Panjab Chief Court, but due to his sudden and untimely death he could not join the bench.

Syed Muhammad Latif was a prolific writer. The cares and anxieties of profession and other responsibilities could not kill the insatiable urge for knowledge and research. He

was a regular contributor to leading magazines like *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Calcutta Review*. His style both in English and Urdu was polished and scholarly. In his early youth he composed verses in Arabic, Persian and Urdu and a collection of his verses known as Diwan-i-Latif was published in 1870. But history was his greatest love. It absorbed all his powers of imagination and description. He took special pains in collection of details and facts and would not accept anything the authenticity of which he could not verify. He had a special interest in the study of architecture and his description of monuments is comprehensive and illuminating.

When Syed Muhammad Latif died in 1902 at the age of 51, he left behind many published works and a number of unfinished manuscripts. The more important of his works are:

(*i*) *Diwan-i-Latif*, 1870.
(*ii*) *History of the Panjab with an Account of the City of Lahore* (Urdu) 1888.
(*iii*) *Agra, History and Descriptive*, 1889.
(*iv*) *Early History of Multan*, 1891).

(*v*) *History of the Panjab*, (1891).

(*vi*) *Lahore, Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*, 1892.

All the five books on history are indisputably a work of outstanding scholarship and research. In fact they are the only books of authenticity on these subjects and research in this field has not proceeded beyond where Syed Sahib left it. Even after fifty years of his death Syed Muhammad Latif is still the final authority.

The Early History of Multan

THE famous city of Multan, identifiable with the capital of the Malli conquered by Alexander in his memorable invasion of the Panjab, is situated four miles from the left bank of the Chenab—the Acesines of the ancients—after it has received the waters of the Ravi and the Jhelum. The rising ground—the accumulated debris of ages—on which the citadel stands, and the numerous ruins and places of interment scattered round the town, furnish unquestionable evidence of its great antiquity. Originally the town and citadel were pleasantly situated on two islands in the Ravi, at an elevation of some 150 feet above the surface of the surrounding country; but, centuries ago, the river deserted its old channel, and, turning to the westward, it now flows thirty-two miles above the town. Its former channel, which surrounded the fortress, can still be traced, and, during seasons of high floods, the waters reach Multan, thus testifying to the truth of

the statement made by the historians of Alexander, that the conqueror circumnavigated the fortress.

The city was originally named Kasyapapura, after Kasyapa, its mythical founder, who, according to the Hindu tradition, was the father of the twelve Adityas, or sun-gods; and the solar worship, for which it became so famous throughout India, and which still survives, is said to have been instituted by Samba, the son of Krisna, the well-known antagonist of Bana, the great-grandson of Prabhalada, the younger son of Kasyapa, who succeeded his elder brother Daitya. It was this Daitya's denial of the divinity and omnipresence of Vishnu that led to the incarnation of Nara Sinha, or the "man lion." His successor, Prabhalada, after whom the city was called Prabhaladpura, revived the worship of the god, who was regarded as a household deity. Samba's assiduous worship of Mitra, the sun-god, is said to have cured him of leprosy, and, in commemoration of the event, he erected a golden statue of Mitra and dedicated to him a temple named Adyasthana. This golden statue, called Aditya, became the celebrated idol of Multan, the

fame of which attracted pilgrims from the remotest parts of India for many centuries.

The legend which asserts that Kasyapapura was the original name of the city derives confirmation from the identity of Multan with the Kaspapuros of Hecataeus, the Kaspeira of Ptolemy and the Kaspapuros of Herodotus. In ancient Sanskrit literature the name Kasyapapura occurs, along with Hansapura, Bhagapura and Sambapura, to which General Cunningham adds Prahladapura and Adyasthana—literally the "First Shrine"—the name given to the temple of Mitra.

Ptolemy describes Kaspeira as situated at a bend of the Rhuadis (Ravi), just above its junction with the Sandobag (Chandrabhaga, or Chenab). As the modern city of Multan stands on the old bank of the Ravi, which, as late as the days of Taimur (1398-99 A. D.), flowed past it, its identification with the Kaspeira of Ptolemy is unavoidable, and the fact, so important from an antiquarian point of view, is established that "Multan, or Kaspeira, whose dominion extended from Kashmir to Mathura, must have been the principal city in the Panjab towards the middle of the

second century of the Christian era."

The first mention of Mulasthanapura (City of the Temple of the Sun), which undoubtedly gave its name to the modern city of Multan, occurs in the travels of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Houen Thsang, who, after visiting Udambara (Kachh), Zangala (Beluchistan), Patala, or Pitasila (Hyderabad), and Alor, the capital of Sindh, came to Multan in October 641 A. D. This was during the reign of Raja Chach, who, having subverted the dynasty of kings known as Rais, occupied the city and province of Multan in 631 A. D. His brother, Chanda, who succeeded him on his death, was a zealous follower of the Buddhist faith.

The Chinese traveller found the circuit of the city to be 30 Li, which is about equal to five English miles. He saw the golden statue of Mitra, gorgeously attired and magnificently placed in a temple, to which all the Princes of India sent rich presents. He calls the city Meulo-san-pu-lo, which is transcribed into Mulasthanapura.

The existence of the golden statue is mentioned in the Bhavishya Purana, an ancient Sanskrit work, and it was owing to its pos-

session of such a treasure and to its wealth in gold that the early Arab conquerors called the place *Farj*, or "House of Gold."

Multan was first visited by the Moslem arms during the reign of the Khalifa Abu Bekr, 44 Hijri (664 A.D.), when Mohalib, the Arab General, afterwards an eminent commander in Persia and Arabia, separating from the main army of the invaders, penetrated to the ancient capital of the Malli, whence he carried away many prisoners of war. The expedition, however, seems to have been directed to the exploration of the country, and no attempt was apparently made to retain the conquest.

The Chachnama, written orginally in Arabic, is a work for which great antiquity is claimed, and which, notwithstanding its tedious speeches, contains, according to Elphinstone, "a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Mahomed Kasim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindu reigns." It was written, presumably, before the foundation of Mansura[1] (the Mahomedan capital of Sindh, close of Brah-

1. It was built in the beginning of the reign of the Khalifa Almansur, who succeeded in 136 A.H. (753 A.D.)—*Elliot*.

manabad, called Harmatelia by Diodorus), for there is no mention in it of that town, or of Al Raiza, Manjabari or Maswahi, important towns noticed by Biladuri and Ibn Haukal, the early Arabian authors on Sindh. The author, in his description of the conquest of Multan by the Arabs under Mahomed Kasim, invariably calls it "Sikka Multan." Many obstinate engagements are described as having been fought, in which "rivers of blood flowed on both sides." After he had conquered Askalanda, a strong fort, where he put four thousand fighting men to the sword, we are told, he proceeded with his whole army to "Sikka Multan," on the south bank of the Ravi, which is said to have been defended by Rajhra. The place was not reduced till after a hotly contested battle, which lasted seven days, and in which many distinguished officers of the Moslem army were killed. All the make inhabitants capable of bearing arms were massacred in cold blood; six thousand ministers of the temple were carried away as slaves, besides all the women and children, and a mosque was erected in the city.

In a subterranean room beneath the great

idol, a vast treasure was found, and this was further augmented by contributions raised from the inhabitants. The story of the discovery of the treasure is thus related by Abu Rehan: "Historians relate, on the authority of Ali bin Mahomed, to whom it had been related by Abu Mahomed Hindui, that Mahomed Kasim arose, and, with his generals, courtiers, guards and attendants, went into the temple, where he beheld an idol made of pure gold, its two eyes being of bright red rubies. Mahomed Kasim, mistaking the image for a man, drew his sword, intending to sever the head from the body; but the Brahmans, prostrating themselves before the conqueror, exclaimed: 'O true Commander, this is the image which was made by Jibawaiī, King of Multan, who concealed beneath it, in a reservoir, a treasure exceeding all limit and computation, and then departed.' The Arab General thereupon ordered the idol to be removed, and an underground chamber was discovered, in which were found two hundred and thirty maunds of gold and forty jars filled with gold dust. The latter, being weighed, was found to amount to thirteen thousand and two maunds

of gold."

On enquiring the cause of the great wealth of the city and the flourishing condition of its inhabitants, Mahomed Kasim was informed that it was due to the offerings made to the idol, which were brought from all parts of India. The Arab General, anxious to add to the resources of his newly conquered dominions, allowed the idol to remain uninjured, but, as a token of his indignation, he caused a piece of cow's flesh to be suspended from its neck. The idol was allowed to remain during the entire period of the supremacy of the Khalifs of the Umayya dynasty.

From the account of the expeditions of Raja Chach against Multan, given in the Chachnama, it appears that "Sikka" was the name of the fort on the Ravi, opposite Multan, for it is stated that "the Raja, having defeated Rajhra, and occupied Sikka on the Ravi, crossed over to lay siege to the capital."

Rajhra retired under the walls of the city, and, after an unsuccessful appeal for succour to the sovereign of Kashmir, surrendered it on honourable terms. Abul Kasim, better

known to oriental scholars by the name of Ibn Khurdaba, who flourished under the Khalifs of Baghdad, was the earliest known of the Arab geographers who wrote on India and the East. His work is known under the title of "The Book of Roads and Kingdoms." Its date is not known; but the author, who devoted his leisure hours to geographical researches, died in 300 A.H. (912 A.D.). He calls Multan, which he describes as being two months' journey from Zaranj, the capital of Sijistan, by the name of Farj, because Mahomed, son of Kasim, Lieutenant of Al Hajjaj, found vast quantities of gold in the city, which henceforward was called by the Arabs the "House of Gold."

Al Masudi, of Baghdad, who visited the valley of the Indus in 303 A.H. (915 A.D.), and who wrote his much admired work, "The Meadows of Gold," about the year 330 A.H. (942 A.D.), has left us a glowing account of the condition of Islam in the beginning of the tenth century. Speaking of Multan, which he places seventy-five Sindhian farsangs from Mansura, he says: "It is one of the strongest frontier places of the

Musulmans, and in its neghbourhood there are a hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages.'' This notice of the city and surrounding country, by such an acute observer as Al Masudi is admitted to have been, affords convincing testimony to the fertility of the region during the early period of the Mahomedan occupation. Speaking of the idol, Al Masudi says: " People living in the distant parts of Sindh and Hind travel to it to perform pilgrimage, and, in fulfilment of their vows and religious obligations, they make offerings of money, precious stones, perfumes of every kind, and, aloe wood before it. The sovereign of Multan derives the principal part of his revenues from the valuable offerings made to the idol. When the faithful are harassed by the unbelievers marching against Multan, they bring out the idol and threaten to break it in pieces, or reduce it to ashes, and the assailants are thus induced to withdraw forthwith.''

The Amir of Multan, described as being of the Arab tribe of Koresh, was named Abu Dowlat al Munabba, son of Assadas Sami. The kingdom of Multan is represented as

having been hereditary in his family since the introduction of Islam into Sindh. Al Masudi speaks of Multan as the greatest of the countries which form a frontier against unbelieving nations, and he asserts that Kanauj was included in that province.

Both Istakhri, of Istakhr, or Persepolis, who wrote about the middle of the tenth century (340 A.H., 951 A.D.), and Ibn Haukal, of Baghdad, who based his work on that of Istakhri, give glowing accounts of Multan, which they describe as a large, fortified and impregnable city, about half the size of Mansura, the ancient Mahomedan capital of Sindh.

They speak of the idol "Multan" as being held in great veneration by the Hindus, who flock to it from all parts of India on religious pilgrimages, and make large offerings, which are spent on the temple and its devotees. The temple of the idol, 300 feet high, is spoken of as a strongly built edifice, "situated in the market, the most thickly populated part of the town, between the streets of the ivory dealers and the coppersmiths' quarters." Multan is celebrated to this day for its elegant ivory bangles and toys and for

its copper utensils, which form no insignificant part of its internal trade. The idol, twenty cubits high, they say, stood in the centre of the building under a cupola, round which lived the ministering priests and worshippers. It was set on a platform of brickwork, and was made of wood (no longer of gold, be it observed) in human shape, covered with red Cordova leather, and seated with the legs bent in a quadrangular posture, the hands resting on the knees, with the fingers all closed. Its two eyes were of two red rubies, and its head was surmounted with a golden crown.

About half a mile from the city was an extensive cantonment, called Chandrawar, where lived the Governor of Multan in a magnificent castle. He belonged to the noble tribe of Koresh, and acknowledged no allegiance to the chief of Mansura, but read the Khutba in the name of the Khalifa of Baghdad. He never entered the city except on Fridays, and then, mounted on an elephant, to take part in the service of the Sabbath.

How the golden statue, expressly mentioned in the Sanskrit texts and by Houen Thsang, became converted into the wooden figure

referred to by Al Istakhri and Ibn Haukal, has not been ascertained. According to the author of the Chachnama, who wrote his work contemporaneously with the conquests of Mahomed Kasim, the golden idol was allowed to remain uninjured by the Arab General.

The next mention of Multan by the early Arab geographers is in the excellent work of Abu Rehan Al Biruni, written by him only a few weeks after the death of his famous master, Mahmud of Ghazni, whom he had accompanied to India. It treats of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, customs and laws of the Hindus of India about the year 1030 A.D. He calls Multan "Mulasthana"; and, noticing the conquests of Kasim in this part of the country, he writes: "Mahomed Ibn ul Kasam Ibn ul Munabbih entered Sindh from this side of Sijistan, and conquered the cities of Bahmanwa and Mulasthana, the former of which he called Almansura, and the latter Almamura." He entered India proper and penetrated as far as Kannoj, marching to the country of Gandhava and, on his way back, through the confines of Kashmir.

He informs us that when the Karmatians

became masters of Multan, Jalam, the son of Shaiban, the usurper, did not prove as tolerant as the preceding sovereigns had been towards the celebrated Hindu shrine. He broke the idol in pieces, put all the priests attached to the temple to the sword, and converted the temple itself into a Jama Masjid, and, to show his dislike of the Khalifs of the House of Umayya, closed the old mosque which had been constructed under them.

"When the blessed king Mahmud," continues our author, "subdued the Karmatians (who were followers of the Shia sect), he, as the great champion of the Sunnis, restored the old mosque as the place of Friday worship, and the second one was left to decay." This occurred in 1005 A.D., when Mahomed captured Multan.

The old mosque, referred to by Al Biruni, was the masjid built by Mahomed bin Kasim, which had been deserted by the Karmatians.

According to Ferishta, Sheik Hamid Lodi, the ruler of Multan, had paid tribute to Amir Sabaktagin; but his grandson, Abul Fath Daud, the son of Nasir, having shaken off his allegience to the house of Ghizni, joined Anand Pal, the successor of Jeypal, Raja of Lahore.

Mahmud entered Multan by way of Bhatinda, and besieged the city for seven days; but Daud, having received news of the defeat of his ally, Anand Pal, near Peshawar, and not feeling strong enough to keep the field alone, retreated, and was subsequently pardoned on stipulating to pay an annunl tribute of 20,000 golden dirhams.

On the decline of the Ghiznivide dynasty Multan once more fell under the native Hindus; but the Shias again became masters of Multan, and were not finally expelled until 1176 A.D., when Sultan Shahabuddin, commonly known as Mahomed Ghori, having seated himself on tne throne of Ghizini, led an army against Multan, which he conquered. He appointed Ali Karmani his Governor of Multan and Uch.

This was the same Mahomed Ghori who, having inflicted a death blow on the Empire of the Hindus under Pirthwi Raj, took possession of Delhi, the ancient metropolis of India, in 1193, thus becoming the founder of the Mahomedan sovereignty in India. From that time, Multan, which had remained independent under the Arab rulers, was treated as a dependency of the house of Ghizni

during the reign of Mahmud and his successors, and, lapsing again to the Hindus ultimately, became an appendage of the Delhi Empire. Abu Rehan, on his visit to Multan, found neither the temple nor the idol in existence ; but the Hindus, subsequently, on recovering their independence, restored the temple and set up the idol, to which offerings were made as usual by the people. Thus, when Al Idrisi, of Morocco, wrote his work on geography, called the *Nuzhatul Mushtak fi Iftakhar ul afak*, about the year 1130 A.D., or about the time of the decline of the Ghiznivide dynasty, the sun-god of Multan was flourishing, and was worshipped by the Hindus with as much zeal as ever. The temple of the idol is described as being situated in the centre of the city, in a most frequented bazar, or quarter. "The building," writes Al Idrisi, "is dome-shaped. The interior of the dome is gilded, and the dome and the gates are works of great solidity. The columns are very lofty, and the walls are decorated with various colours. There is no idol in Hind, or Sindh, more highly venerated. The people obey it as law and make it the object of a pious pilgrimage. The inhabitants maintain

that its presence secures divine protection, and regard it as a guardian against all misfortunes and calamities. When a neighbouring Prince declares war against Multan, the priests threaten the aggressors with the wrath of the sun-god, and predict their destruction, and the assailants at once renounce their design."

Al Idrisi describes Multan as a large city, equal in size to Mansura, commanded by a citadel with four gates and surrounded by a moat. Provisions are represented as being abundant, the taxes light, and the people well-to-do. It was called the "House of Gold."

Zakaria Al Kazwini, who wrote his work called the Asar ul bilad wa Akhbar ul 'Ibad (Monuments of Countries and Memories of Men) about 1263 A.D., when the Slave Kings were in power in Hindustan, writes of Multan as a large, fortified and impregnable city, with a temple which is to the Hindus a place of worship and pilgrimage, as Mecca is for the Mahomedans.

"The inhabitants are Musulmans and infidels ; but the government is in the hands of the former."

The chief mosque is described as being near

the temple.

At the time of Mahomed Ghori's death (1205 A.D.) Nasiruddin *Kubacha* was Governor of Multan and Sindh. He had married the daughter of Kutbuddin, Emperor of Delhi. Strengthened by this alliance, Nasiruddin declared his independence in Sindh and Multan on the death of his patron, and caused public prayers to be read, and money coined, in his own name.

Shamsuddin Altamash, adopted son of the late King, invaded Multan in 1217, and defeated Nasiruddin, who was afterwards drowned in the Indus. By his defeat and death, the second independence of Multan under the Mahomedahs came to an end, and Multan once more became subject to the Delhi Empire.

In 1396 A.D. Multan was invaded by Prince Pir Mahomed Jahangir, the grandson of Tamerlane. Sarang Khan, the Governor of Depalpur, who had declared his independence, expelling Khizr Khan, the Multan Governor, on behalf of Mahomed Toghlak, the reigning sovereign in Delhi, hearing of the approach of the Moghul prince, despatched Malik Tajuddin, his deputy, and the greater portion of his troops to oppose the invading

army. Pir Mahomed, hearing of this movement, advanced to the Bias, and, falling suddenly on the Multanis just as they were crossing the river, defeated and drove them into the stream, so that more perished by drowning than fell by the sword. Such of the fugitives as made good their retreat to Multan were pursued by the Moghuls, who compelled Sarang Khan to shut himself up in the fort. The invading army laid siege to the fort, and the blockade lasted six months, until the besieged army, being reduced to extremities by want of provisions, surrendered at discretion, and Mirza Pir Mahomed took possession of Multan.[1]

For thirty-six years after the departure of Tamerlane there was no kingdom in India, in name or in reality. Khizr Khan Syad governed the kingdom in the name of Tamerlane, without sovereign title or royal honours. During the troubled reign of his grandson Syad Mahomed, an insurrection broke out in Multan among the Afghans called Langa, 1443 A.D.

The Delhi Emperor, sunk in licentiousness, totally neglected the affairs of his govern-

1. Ferishta

ment ; the whole Empire fell to pieces and new monarchies sprang up in every direction. With no Governor or Viceroy to manage the affairs of the country, and weakened by internal commotion and disorder, as well as by foreign intrigue and aggressions, the people of Multan suffered bitterly from the anarchy and confusion that prevailed. In this state of things, they assembled to devise measures to restore order, and unanimously elected Sheikh[1] Eusuf, the hereditary guardian of the great monastery near the capital, to be their ruler. The Sheikh belonged to the distinguished tribe of Koresh, and, according to the author of Tabakati Akbari, was held in universal esteem for his wisdom, learning, and piety. Having assumed supreme power, he introduced measures of reform into the country, increased its military strength, and concluded peace with the neighbouring States which frequently disturbed its peace. Among those who submitted to his authority was Rae Sahra, the chief of the Langas, who so flattered the venerable Sheikh that he even gave him his daughter in marriage ; and the

1. The Makhdums of Multan are his descendants.

nuptials were celebrated in Multan with great splendour. The Sheikh, however, in the guise of a friend, harboured designs of his own against Multan, and during an entertainment, having contrived to lull suspicion, seized the person of his son-in-law, whom he sent to Delhi. Usurping thus the kingly power, he proclaimed himself king of Multan, under the title of Sultan Kutbuddin Langa, 1445. Sheikh Eusuf became the guest of the Emperor Bahloli Lodi, but made no attempt to recover his lost kingdom.

Kutbuddin reigned in peace for sixteen years, and died in 1469, much lamented by his subjects.

He was succeeded by his son Husein Langa, a man of great learning and activity, who extended the dominions of Multan to the south and west.

During the eighty years that Multan was held by the Langa dynasty, it became the principal caravan route between India and Kandahar, and commerce and agriculture flourished. All the lands on the banks of the Chenab and the Ghara, as well as some on the Indus, were richly cultivated, and the country was settled by bodies of Beluchees

and Sahna Jains from the borders of Beluchistan and the emporium of Karachi.

In 1526 Shah Husein Arghun, at that time ruler of Sindh, seized Multan on behalf of Baber, who bestowed it on his son Mirza Askeri. The Mirza, assisted by Langar Khan, one of the most powerful of the Amirs of Sultan Mahmud Langa, held possession of Multan during the rest of Baber's reign.

On Baber's death Humayun found himself compelled to surrender Multan, along with the whole of the Panjab, to his eldest brother, Kamran Mirza. That Prince established his court at Lahore, and, sending his Amir to take charge of Multan, recalled Langar Khan to Lahore. He gave the Khan an honourable reception and assigned him a residence close to the city, which in subsequent times came to be known as "Guzar Langar Khan," or Langar Khan's quarters.[1]

During the confusion that followed the flight of Humayun to Persia, the kingdom of Multan was conquered by the Beluchees under their chief, Fatteh Khan. When Sher Shah *Sur* came into power, Fatteh Khan

1. Tabakati Akbari.

acknowledged him, but that monarch was desirous of assuming direct charge of the fertile province himself. He therefore deputed his General, Hebat Khan, at the head of an army to annex the territory to the Indian Empire. Fatteh Khan, collecting his troops, appeared on the field and gave the Moghul General battle, but was defeated, and Multan was captured for the Shah. Pleased with the services of Hebat Khan, the Shah conferred on him the title of Azim Humayun.[1]

Humayun was restored to the throne of India in 1555, and shortly afterwards his son, the great Akbar, took possession of Multan. When Abul Fazl composed the celebrated "Aini Akbari," or the "Institutes of Akbar," Multan was one of the largest provinces of the Empire, extending to the frontiers of Persia, and including within its limits the modern countries of Multan, Beluchistan, Sindh, Shikarpore, Sewistan and Tatta, besides a portion of the Doabs now attached to Lahore. A royal mint for silver and copper coin was established there along with the mints at Delhi, Agra,

1. Tabakat and Tarikhi Nizam.

Lahore, Illahabas (Allahabad) Kashmir, Ujjein, Surat, Patna and Tanda.[1] It was the seat of the Kazi-ul-Kuzzat, or the chief Kazi; and when the learned men of the time put their seal and signatures to the memorable document declaring Akbar to be the "*Imam i Idil,*" or the "Just leader of the Faith," Kazi Jalauddin of Multan, the Kazi-ul-Kuzzat of the time, put his seal to it. Khani A'zim Mirza Aziz, *Kokah*, or foster brother of Akbar, on becoming a member of the "Divine Faith," received Multan in jagir. He was son of Ji Ji Angah, the nurse of Akbar, with whom he had grown up. The Emperor was attached to him till his death, and used to say: "Between me and Aziz there is a river of milk which I cannot cross."

The earliest mention of Multan by a European traveller which I have found is in the travels of St. Thomas Herbert, Bart., in connection with the rebellion of Prince Khurram (afterwards Shah Jahan) in the time of the Emperor Jahangir, son of Akbar. The traveller writes: " Jahangir (lest he should surfeit of delight) at Cashmir, enter-

1. Aini Akbari.

tains the news of his son Khurram's fresh outbreaking ; as also of Ebrahim's death and discomfiture : and fearing his vagrant son might grow too popular and potent, rouses himself, and, after advice with his Council, forthwith commands Chan Jahan, out of Multhan and Buckarr (countries adjoining to Kabul), to raise a considerable force to hasten into Gujurat with the tribute of those provinces, to advance a new army, and join with Parwaz, that he might be better able to march against the rebels.''[1]

The next mention of Multan which we find is in the travels of Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, the celebrated French traveller and jewel merchant.

He travelled in India between 1641 and 1668, or during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, and he had also traversed the land route from Isphahan to Agra, *via* Kandahar, Kabul, Lahore and Delhi. From Kandahar to Agra the route lay either by Kabul or by Multan. The last route was shorter than the other by ten days, ''but the cara-

1. "Some years' Travels into diverse parts of Africa and Asia the Great, describing more particularly the Empires of Asia and Hindustan." By St. Thomas Herbert. Bart., London, 1677 A.D.

van," observes Tavernier, "scarcely ever takes it, because from Kandahar to Multan there is nothing but deserts almost all the way, and because one marches sometimes for three or four days without finding water." In his description of the town, the traveller says: "Multan is a town where quantities of calicoes are made, and they used to carry them all to Tatta before the sands had obstructed the mouth of the river; but since the passage has been closed for large vessels, they carry them to Agra, and from Agra to Surat, as well as a portion of the goods which are made at Lahore. As this carriage is very expensive, but few merchants go to make investments either at Multan or Lahore, and indeed many of the artisans have deserted; this also causes the revenues of the king to be much diminished in these provinces. Multan is the place whence emigrate all *banians* who come to trade in Persia, where they follow the same occupation as the Jews, as I have elsewhere said, and they surpass them in their usury. They have a special law which permits them on certain days to eat fowls, and to take only one wife between two or three brothers, of whom the eldest is

regarded as the father of the children."[1]

Multan was visited by another French traveller, M. de Thevenot, described by the historians as a "thoughtful observer," in 1666, the most prosperous period of the reign of Aurangzeb, who was then devising a scheme to entrap Sevaji, the celebrated Mahratta Prince. The "temple of the Sun" was still flourishing, and the faithful flocked round their great idol with costly presents from all parts of the country. The image was clothed in red leather and had a black face, the eyes being represented by two large pearls. This was, of course, before Aurangzeb had begun his work of persecuting the Hindus.

During the invasion of Nadir Shah (1738-39), Zahid Khan, a Saddozie Afghan, was appointed Viceroy of Multan through the influence of his friend Kamruddin Khan, the Minister of the Delhi Empeor, Mahomed Shah. Runjit Singh invaded Multan in 1818, when Mozaffar Khan, grandson of Zahid Khan, with five of his sons, fell in the battle-field. Multan was conquered by the Sikhs, and remained in their possession until it was finally annexed by

1. Travels in India, by John Baptiste Tavernier, Vol I., p. 90.

the British during the second Sikh War (1848-49). Mul Raj, the last Sikh Governor, son of the celebrated Dewan Sawan Mal, was tried by a British court-martial on a charge of murder of Mr. Vans Agnew, Political Agent, and Lieutenant Anderson, his assistant, and being found guilty, was sentenced to death; but the penalty was subsequently commuted to transportation for life. The rebel was accordingly sent to Calcutta, where he died the following year.

General Cunningham saw the ruins of the great Temple of the Sun in 1853, on the high ground in the very centre of the citadel, and he identified it with its position as stated by Istakhri, Ibn-i-Haukal and Idrisi.[1] The temple and the statue of the Sun were, according to the same authority, destroyed during the reign of Aurangzeb, and the *Jama Masjid*, or cathedral mosque, was built in its stead. When the Sikhs came into power, they turned the mosque into a powder magazine, which was blown up in the celebrated siege of Multan in 1849. The temple of Pahladpuri, having reference to Prahladpura, or Pahladpur, from Prahlada, the famous son of Kas-

1. Archaeolgical Reports, 1872-73, p. 119.

yapa, still stands at the north-eastern angle of the fort, close to the tomb of Bahawal Hak. The original temple is said to have been built by Prahlada himself. The roof of the present *mandar* was blown up by the explosion of the powder magazine during the siege of 1849, and an annual fair is held round the temple in commemoration of the traditional anniversary of Nar Sinh, *Avatar*.

According to Burnes,[1] Muzaffar Khan, the late Nawab of Multan, in sinking a well in the city, found a war drum at a depth of sixty feet from the surface. General Cunningham had several wells sunk, from the high ground of the citadel down to the level of the natural soil, and he discovered evidence of man's occupation at a depth varying from 45 to 50 feet, namely, a deposit of ashes and burnt earth, which he takes to be the remains of a conflagration and wholesale massacre that followed the capture of the capital of the Malli by the Macedonian troops of Alexander, exasperated as they were, by the dangeous wound received by their master in the siege of the place. "Frightful was the carange," we are told, "made amongst the brave Malli;

1. Travels into Bokhara, &c., Vol. III., p. 115.

every man, woman and child that fell into the hands of the Macedonians was mercilessly butchered."

According to both Arrian and Strabo, Alexander received his wound at the capture of the capital of the Malli, whither, we are informed, many of the inhabitants of other cities had fled for better security. The strong Brahman city from which Alexander led his forces against the chief city of the Malli is identified by Cunningham with Attari, 34 miles to the northeast of Multan, and on the high road from Tolamba. Multan has unquestionably been the capital of the Lower Punjab, and it possesses the strongest fort in his part of the country. At the time of Alexander's invasion, it had, according to Arrian, the greatest number of defenders, 50,000 ; and it must have been the strongest place, for he says, "the warlike tribe (the Malli) had abandoned the other cities and concentrated there for better security." Alexander is described as having made two marches from the Brahman city to the capital of the Malli, which agrees exactly with the distance of 34 miles between Attari and Multan. "For these reasons," says General Cunningham, "I am

quite satisfied that the capital city of the Malli was the modern city of Multan."

Major Rennel has supposed the metropolis of Multan to have been higher up, and he points to the ruins near Tolamba as the site of the capital of the Malli. But the conclusions drawn by General Cunningham are corroborated by Burnes and other eminent travellers of modern times. It is expressly stated that, after capturing the Brahman city and Oxydracae (the modern Uch), Alexander crossed the city of the Malli. The distance from the river is but 30 miles, and Multan is a place of undoubted antiquity. "I do not see," Says Burnes, "why we should forsake the modern capital when in search of the ancient ; had we not the earliest assurances of the age of Multan, its appearance alone would indicate it."[1]

I have said before that Multan, the Kasyapapura of Hindu mythology, derives its name from Kasyapa, one of the great gods of the Hindu pantheon. These gods, or Rishis, are represented in the heavens by the seven stars of the Great Bear, believed to be united by marriage to the seven Pleiades, or Krittikas.

1. Travels into Bokhara, &c., Vol. III.

According to local tradition, the manifestation of Vishnu in the Nar Sinh, *Aratar*, took place at Multan when Kasyapa was reigning. This old tradition of the origin of the place affords interesting evidence of its importance at the earliest dawn of Indian history, and is proof of the great position which it once held in the Empire of India.

General Cunningham discovered three interesting silver coins in the neighbourhood of Multan (1872-73), all of which he believes to refer to the worship of the sun-god of Multan. They are supposed to belong to a period antecedent to the reign of Chach, towards the middle of the seventh century, when the territory of Multan and Sindh was ruled over by a dynasty of kings known as *Diwahij*, conspicuous for their devotion to sun worship.

The first of these coins was found in the great Tope of Manakyala, which had been thoroughly explored by Mountstuart Elphinstone (1815), General Ventura (1830), and General Court (1834). It was triangular in form, with the bust of the king, half-turned to the right, covered with a head-dress, ornamented with two trisuls, and surmounted

by a tiger's head. The Scythic letters before the face on the obverse are now quite unknown, but the long legend in the Nagri character around the margin bas been satisfactorily delineated, and the following reading has been adopted :

Sri Hitivi cha Airan cha Parameswara,
Sri Shahitigin Deva jarita ;

which means—

"The fortunate lord of India and Persia,
The valiant king Devajarita."

The reverse has a bust of a god, which Prinsep attributes to the Mithra of the Iranians, but which Cunningham believes to be the Multan sun-god, called Aditya, for the reason that the head is surrounded by rays arranged after the Indian fashion and quite different from the head-dress of the Persian Mithra. If the theory of General Cunningham in regard to the identification of the coin with the Diwahij dynasty be correct, the date of the coin would be about 500 A.D.

The second coin is of special value, as belonging to the time of Khusrow Parwez, of Persia. It has on the obverse the bust of the king, with the winged head-dress, and a Pahlvi legend. On the reverse is the bust

of the Indian sun-god, with the rayed head-dress. The date inscribed on the coin is the year "37 of the reign," which corresponds to 626 A.D. The coin is of particular interest, as giving a clue to an important event recorded in Chachnama, namely, the invasion of Sindh by an army from Persia under the King of Nimroz (Sistan) and the defeat and death of Rae Siharus, the immediate predecessor of the Brahman Chach. General Cunningham supposes the coin to have been struck by Khusrow Parwez in honour of his temporary conquest of the Indian Empire.

The third coin bears a close analogy to the last. It has on the obverse the bust of a king with a winged head-dress, as in the coin of Khusrow Parwez. The Pahlvi legend has been read by Mr. Thomas as follows :

Left of the head—*Siv Varsú Tef.*

Round the margin—*Pún shami dát siv varsao Tef, Wahman Ach Múltán Malka.*

Meaning—

In nomine justi judicis siv Varsao Tef Bráhman, King of Múltán.

On the reverse appears the rayed head of the sun-god, as in the two coins before men-

tioned. On the right of the head is the inscription *Sri Vású Vású Deva*, and on the left *Panchai záwulistan*.

The last coin has, it would appear, direct reference to Multan, the rayed bust on the coin being identified with the famous sun-god Aditya. General Cunningham identifies Vans Deva with Rajhra, who ruled Multan when that country was usurped by Chach. He was a relative of *Shasi*, and is described as having had 'large dominions' and possessed "great abilities." According to the Chachnama, his nephew, Sahiwal, was Governor of the Fort of *Sikka*, opposite Multan, and, with the assistance of *Ajri*, his cousin, he opposed Chach on the banks of the Bias for three months.

Another place of great antiquity in Multan, directly associated with the ancient worship of the sun-god "Multan," is the tank of "*Suraj Kund*," or the pool of the sun, famous, in modern times, as the position of the British troops under Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake during the siege of Multan in 1848. It is about five miles to the south of Multan, on the road to Bahawalpur, and is a place of great sanctity with the Hindus. The tank is 132 feet in diameter and 10 feet deep when full of

water. Sawan Mal, the Sikh Diwan, surrounded it with an octagonal wall. It is a great place of pilgrimage, and two fairs are held on the site annually—one on the seventh of the waning moon of Bhadon, and the other on the seventh of the waning moon of Magh—the numbers having apparently reference to the seven horses of the Sun's chariot, according to the Hindu mythology, or the seven Rishis, sons of Manu, a direct descendant of Brahma, the father of Kasyapa, the fabulous founder of Multan.

The modern city of Multan is built on a mound of considerable height, formed of the debris of most ancient cities and the rubbish accumulated during the lapse of many centuries. The city is surrounded with a wall, the whole circuit, including the citadel, being 15,000 feet, or nearly three miles. But Multan, like the other great Eastern cities (Shiraz, Ispahan, Kabul, &c.), has extensive suburbs, which are unwalled, and, including these, measures about five miles, which agrees exactly with the estimate furnished by the Chinese traveller Houen Tsang, who makes the circuit of Multan 30 Li, or just five miles.[1] It

1. Ancient Geography, p. 231.

also very nearly agrees with the estimate of Elphinstone, who describes Multan as "about four-miles-and-a-half in circumference."[1] The citadel, situated on the opposite banks of the old bed of the Ravi, and now dismantled, had no ditch when visited by Elphinstone and Burnes ; but Sawan Mal, the popular and energetic Viceroy of Multan under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, surrounded it with a broad, deep ditch, having ready communication with the waters of the Ravi canal. The walls were built by Morad Baksh, the fourth and youngest son of Shah Jahan, when Viceroy of Multan, in 1627 A.D., or towards the close of the reign of that Emperor. The Prince was fond of arms, and delighted in hunting lions and wild boars, which then abounded in the jungles of Multan.

The fort is, in shape, half an irregular octagon, with a circuit of 6,600 feet, or a mile-and-a-quarter. It had originally forty-six towers and bastions, including two flanking towers at each of the four gates.

Al Idrisi, writing of Multan in the beginning of the twelfth century, describes it as "a large city commanded by a citadel, which

1. Elphinstone's Cabul, p. 27.

has four gates, and is surrounded by a moat." The fort has still four gates: that to the north being called the *Khizri* gate, from Syad Khzir Khan, Governor of Multan at the time of Tymur's invasion; that to the west, the *De* gate; that to the south, the *Rahri* gate; and that to the east, the *Sikki* gate. The *De* gate is believed to have reference to the Dewal shrine in the temple of the sun, and, according to General Cunningham, indicates its true position. That it must have formed the principal approach to the temple of the sun, is also apparent from the large drain called by the same name (*De*), which must have led from the temple to the streets. The *Sikki* gate has obvious reference to the old fortified town of Sikka mentioned by the historians of Sindh and Arabia. We have already alluded to the fort of Multan being called "Sikka-Multan" by the early Arab authors. The transcription of M. Vivien de St. Martain, of *Mulasthanipura* into mulo-san-upu-lo of the Chinese Pilgrim Houen Tsang, is clearly borne out by the dialect of the people themselves, and the identity of Multan with Mulasthan, which agrees exactly with the name Mula-tana quoted by Abu Rihan, on the authority to Kashmerian

writers. *Mula* in Sanskrit means "root," or "origin," and *sathan*, or *than*, signifies "spot," or "place." The orb of the sun is the root of light, and in the *Amarakosha* one of the names given to the sun is Vradhna, which is the synonym of Mula. Thus *Mula-than*, *Mula-tana* or *Mulas-sthana*, means simply the shrine, or temple of Mula, or the sun. This view was held by Professor Wilson, and has been fully endorsed by General Cunningham.[1]

Munshi Hukm Chand, in his *History of Multan*, gives the following description of the origin of Multan: "According to the Hindus there lived in olden times Haran Kishab Rakshal and Prahlad *Bhagat*. That was the age of the *satjug*. People describe the origin of Multan thus: First, that there lived a tribe here called Mul. The city came to be called Multan after their name. Secondly, the word *Mul* means in Sanskrit *beginning*. The city, having presumably been founded towards the commencement of the human habitation, was called *Multrang*, which, by lapse of ages, came to be styled

1. Ancient Geography, p. 234. The sun is regarded as the lord of the ethereal space, diffusing light by its rays into the world, and hence came to be worshipped as a god itself.

Multan. Thirdly, *Mul* also means 'centre,' and *sthan* means 'a place.' The city, being founded in a central part of the country, was called Mulsthan, namely, a central place.''[1]

According to Ferishta, Multan was founded by a great-grandson of Noah, after his own name. According to other Mahomedan historians, Yafis, a son of Noah, settled here after the deluge, and became a *Kafir*, or infidel. Hans, a descendant of Yafis, who afterwards became a celebrated Raja, laid the foundation of city, which came to be called after his name, *Hanspur*. The city flourished for five hundred years. During the next five hundred it remained waste, after which Raja Bhagat Kishen repopulated it. Being again desolated, after five hundred years, it remained depopulated for the same period, when it was once more peopled by Raja Sham Prem Nath, when the city was, after his name, called Shampur. The city was then swept away by the river, only the citadel, which was situated on high ground, being saved from the effects of the inundation. Five hundred years after, Raja More came here

1. *Tawarikh Zilla Multan*, by Munshi Hukm Chand, p. 42, 1884.

from Hindustan on a hunting excursion, and he, having repeopled the city, called it *Mor-taran*, which, in after times, came to be called *Mol-taran*, and again *Moltana* or *Multan*.[1] When the place was visited by Shah Gurdez Eusuf, no trace of the citadel existed, and what was visible was a large mound of earth. The site of the present town was partly the bed of the river, and partly included the opposite bank of the same. The river flowed by the side of the mausoleum of Shah Eusuf. The modern city was founded eight hundred years ago, and the Ravi then flowed by the side of the city walls, towards the north-west. Traces of the ancient bed of the river can still be seen close to the city walls, though the Ravi now flows at a distance of 5 or 6 miles to the west of the city.

Some maintain that the old city of Multan was situated towards the east of the modern

1. According to Edward Thomas, the orthography of Multan on the coin is simply ملتان without any dots, "which," continues he, "for a long time made me hesitate in admitting the present rendering, but which is now fully established by the legend on the coins of Uzbeg Pai, and I have singular confirmation of the disregard of the true sounds of M and B prevailing at this period, in the fact that many MSS. of the Tabakati Nasiri—the original of which was of nearly contemporaneous composition—defines the name as بلتان (Būltan), a circumstance which has led to amusing confusion in the printed editions prepared in Calcutta."—*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, by Edward Thomas, p 76, London, 1871.

town, and that it was repeopled to the south, at the spot where the mausoleum of Mulla Mouj now stands. This view is borne out by the fact that, to the east and south of the modern town, ancient ruins are found scattered over the surface of the country for miles. At the time of Alexander's memorable invasion of the Malli, the city was situated to the south. This result agrees exactly with the view held by Cunningham, who has supposed that Alexander opened his campaign against the Malli by advancing upon Multan from the east. The bulk of the ancient ruins are to the south-east in the direction of Suraj Kund, and it is probable that the old city of Multan was situated in that direction, not far from the modern town. That the city of Multan repeatedly rose and fell, with the tide of fortune, and was peopled and repeopled at different periods, would be best illustrated from the following saying, widely current amongst the people :

Hanspur, Bhagpur, Shampur, choutha pur Multan,
Panchwanpur Bhajkirthi or Aripur Sultan.

Meaning—

"Hanspur, Bhagpur, Shampur, and the fourth pur is Multan,
The fifth pur is Bhajkirthi or Aripur Sultan."

The above distich corroborates the accounts previously given of the changes of habitation, so far as the walled portion of the city is concerned. There is also a belief prevailing among the inhabitants that the old city of Multan was situated on either bank of the Ravi.[1]

This description corresponds exactly with the description of Multan given by the early Arab Geographers, who described the position of the Fort of Sikka, on the bank of the Ravi, a short distance east of Multan. General Cunningham also arrives at the same conclusion. He writes: "The Fort of Sikka must have been somewhat near the present Mari *Sital*, which is on the bank of the old bed of the Ravi, two-and-a-half miles to the east of Multan."[2]

The Mahomedans, during a rule of upwards of twelve centuries, completely eradicated all traces of idolatry and Hindu worship

1. *History of Multan*, by Munshi Hukm Chand, p. 42.
2. Ancient Geography, p. 238.

from Multan ; and this utter absence of Hindu remains led General Cunningham to sink several wells in the fort, in the hope of discovering some relics that might be more ancient than the Mahomedan conquest. One well was carried down to the depth of forty feet in 1864. It was sunk just outside the wall of the roofless temple of Pahladpuri, and the result was highly interesting. One of the objects of sinking the well was to obtain some reliable data for fixing the approximate period of the accumulation of the vast debris which constitute the special features of this ancient town. At a depth of 10 or 11 feet were discovered a coin of Mozuddin Kekubad (A.D. 1286-89), a glazed blue oil-lamp and several fragments of glazed pottery. The circumstance is unquestionable proof of the fact that glazed tiles were introduced into India by the Mahomedans. The ten feet of accumulation thus gave a period of 600 years, or nearly one-and-a-half foot per century. Lower down, at a depth of 12 feet, was found a coin of Sri Samanta Deva—Circa A.D. 900-950—which gave a period of 900 years for twelve feet. At a depth of 13 and 14 feet were found bricks, $11 \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 2$; at 15, 16 and 17 feet, red

ashes, 2 feet deep; at 18 feet, black ashes, 6 to 9 inches, and bricks 11 × 6½ × 2; and at 21 feet, fragments of large bricks, 14 × 11 × 2½. The bricks increased in size with the depth, the Moghul being small, the Pathan nearly double the size, and the Buddhist still larger.

At a depth of 30 to 32 feet was found a layer of ashes and burnt earth, 2 feet thick, together with a silk-spinners's ball, a shoemaker's sharpening stone, and a copper vessel with about 200 coins. From 36 to 39 feet was natural soil, unmixed.

Now, the principal discoveries made in this archaeological excavation were two, namely, the great masses of ashes and burnt substances at two different depths. The upper one, which extended from 15 to nearly 18 feet, and which consisted of a deposit of red ashes overlying a thin cover of black ashes, was not limited to the area of the well, but extended round it on every side. The position of the deposit corresponds exactly with the conquest of Multan by Mahomed Kasim, Lieutenant of Al Hajjajin, in A.D. 712, when, we are told, the whole garrison was put to the sword.

The other deposit of ashes and burnt earth, 2 feet in thickness, at a depth of 30 to 32

feet, corresponds very nearly to the period of Alexander's conquest of the capital of the Malli, when the Macedonians, exasperated by the wound received by their royal master at the siege of the citadel, made wholesale massacres, sparing neither age nor sex. General Cunningham thinks it probable that this deep layer of ashes may be the remains of some conflagration that attended the massacres.

The further discovery, made just below the level of the burnt earth, consisted of a silk-spinner's ball of clay, a shoe-maker's sharpening stone, and a copper utensil filled with about 200 coins. These latter were square in form, but were unrecognisable, being altogether corroded.[1]

These are important results, establishing, beyond doubt, the great antiquity of Multan and its association with events of the first importance in the history of India.

The only Hindu remains of Multan are the enormous stone rings, called *Nals* and *Mankas* (believed to be the thumb rings of *Nougazas*, or the nine yarders, the "*Ghazis* and *Shahids*," or "warriors and martyrs for the faith of Islam," who first invaded the country and

1. Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. V., pp. 126-29.

were killed in the action). Similar stone rings have been also found in the ruins of Harappa (the most extensive of the old ruins along the banks of the Ravi), and some fragments of statues of a temple near the Haram gate of the city.

But the chief peculiarity of Multan is the amazing extent of the ruins of tombs, mosques and shrines that cover the suburbs, and are even more numerous than those of Lahore. Mounds of enormous size, called in the dialect of the country *Bhir* or *Th-he,* are found scattered over the surface of the country for miles around, and covered with fragments of bricks and pottery of household use. These are undoubtedly the remains of ancient towns and habitations. These mounds, *Bhirs,* are numerous in the Multan district, but I give overleaf a list of the principal ones noted either for their extent or antiquity. These are objects of great interest to the antiquarian, being situated in a region full of historic sites, and give promise of unfolding forgotten chapters of history, if the same zeal be displayed in their examination as has been shown by the Archaeological Department in the Fort of Multan.

Name of Pargana	Name of Village	Name of Mound or *Bhir*	Approximate date of foundation	Approximate date of depopulation	Remarks
Multan	Jalilpur	Jalilpur-wala	Ten generations back	In the time of Mahrattas	
Do	Miani Rawa	Miani-wala	500 or 600 years ago	Before the time of Nawab Mozzuffer Khan	Or before 1779 A.D.
Do	Juma Khasa Taraf	Bakar-abad	In the time of the Delhi Emperors	Do	
Do	Khagga-wala	Koarwala	600 years ago	300 years	
Do	Kotli Nijabut	Nurkhan-wala	Before the time of the Nawabs	Before the Sikh time	Depopulated by the Bhangi Misl.
Do	Makh-dumpur	Bhir Multan-wala	Before the time of Baber	Not known	
Lodh-ran	Mochi Banohan	Th-he machi Banohan-wala	500 years ago	100 years	
Do	Jalal-abad	Th-he Jalalabad Kuhna	400 years ago	Not known	
Do	Khanpur	Th-he Khanpur-wala	Not known	Do	Old bricks of Choughatta period are found here on digging the earth
Do	Khan-wah	Bhir Bhara-wala	500 years	200 years	Ditto ditto

Name of Pargana	Name of Village	Name of Mound or *Bhir*	Approximate date of foundation	Approximate date of depopulation	Remarks
Lodh-ran	Moth	Th-he Sa-mandar Shahid-wala	700 years	400 years	Ditto ditto
Do	Garran	Talwara	800 years	600 years	Old burnt bricks are found here. The place was destroyed by conflagration. The date corresponds with Chach's usurpation fixed by Sir Henry Elliot at 10 A.H. or 631 A.D.
Do	Kot Lal-shah	Hot	Do	400 years	
Do	Vaghmul	Bhir Jamal Fattawala	600 years	300 years	Destroyed by conflagration. Black and red ashes and coal are found on digging the ground. The period nearly corresponds with the invasion of Mulan by Husein Arghun in the name of Baber, when a stubborn resistance, prolonged during fifteen months, was made by Shuja-ulmulk, guardian of the infant son of Mahmud of Langa dynasty.

Name of Pargana	Name of Village	Name of Mound or *Bhir*	Approximate date of foundation	Approximate date of depopulation	Remarks
Do	Karam Aliwala	Bohtan-wala	500 years	200 years	Old bricks are found here
Do	Thatta Ghilwan	Bhaiwala	600 years	300 years	Ditto ditto.
Do	Do	Nazar Sultanwala	Do	200 years	Ditto ditto.
Do	Lutfpur	Mir Hassan Jahanian	700 years	300 years	
Sarne Saddhu	Dadu-wala	Pindi Raj-jowai	Not know	Not known	Copper coins and old bricks are found here on excavation
Do	Jodhpur	Prata	Do	Do	Burnt grain is found here on excavation.
Do	Phaddi	Phaddi	1,930 years	Do	According to popular belief the place was founded by Raja Rasalu
Melsi	Waka Mahni	Bhar Sagowali	500 years	During the Sikh monarchy	
Do	Kadirpur	Kot Kanjan	800 years	When the Bias ehanged its course	
Do	Sargana	Sarang-wala	500 years	During the famine of 1868	An old Masjid stands here
Do	Malik Wahan	Malik Wahan	300 years	In the beginning of the Sikh rule	Old copper coins are found after heavy rain

Name of Pargana	Name of Village	Name of Mound or *Bhir*	Approximate date of foundation	Approximate date of depopulation	Remarks
Melsi	Govt. Jungle	Th-he Jahanian-wala	800 years	500 years	This is a very large mound. It is situate across Diwanwah *nala*, in the Government Forest, one-and-a-half mile south of village Matru. The Bhir is called after the name of Pir Jahanian, whose mausoleum is situated in its vicinity.
Shuja-habad	Vahi Baja Ram	Tibba Sheikh Raju	Before the Bias changed its course	Not known	
Do	Basti Mahran-wala	Tibba Mahran-wala	Not known	Do	

The *walled* city of Multan has six gates, *Delhi*, *Dowlat*, *Lahori*, *Bohar*, *Haram*, and *Pak*, of which the *Bohar* gate leads to the west and the *Delhi* gate to the south. There were four more gates in olden times (the *De*, *Sikki*, *Hareri*, *Khizri*) leading towards the citadel, but these have now been dismantled. The city walls were built by Nawab Ali Mahomed, Khan *Khakwani*, in 1170 A.H.,

corresponding to 1756 A.D. The walls were originally high, but have been reduced during the British period, on sanitary grounds.

Notwithstanding the undoubted Hindu origin of Multan, there are no places of archaeological interest in it which can be pointed to by the Hindus as furnishing a trace of their sovereignty, for the reason, already mentioned, that the sweeping conquest of the Mahomedans has left not a single vestige of their supremacy and power. Yet the famous temple of Pahladpuri, however altered in shape, and the tank of Suraj Kund, previously mentioned, may be pointed to as the two principal places of Hindu pilgrimage in the district of Multan.

According to the *Narsing Purana*, Raja Haran Kishab flourished at Multan at the time of the *sat jug*. He was considered by the Hindus a *Kafir*, or unbeliever. This Raja had a son, by name Prahlad Bhagat. The boy, at the age of five, was observed by his father worshipping Parmeswar and singing hymns in praise of the Lord. Haran Kishab became angry with the child for repeating the name of God and offering him adoration, and enjoined on him the necessity of worshipping

himself. It is to be noted here that, according to tradition, Brahma had promised to Haran Kishab that he should be imperishable, and that neither God, nor man, nor beast would destroy him. He had received an express pledge from the deity that neither earth, nor fire, nor water should affect him during the day, or by night, and that sword, or bow, or arrow, or any other instrument, should cause him no harm. Haran Kishab, considering himself to be immortal, and not liable to extinction, became puffed-up with pride, and directed his subjects to pay him divine worship and honours.

Prahlad was also directed to obey his father's behests. But the remonstrances of the father had no effect on the youthful worshipper of Vishnu, who continued in his pursuits as zealously as ever. The Raja subjected his son to various tortures, but even this did not induce him to desist from the course which he had adopted. At length the Raja had a column (or pillar) of gold constructed, and, causing it to be heated with fire, had the youthful Prahlad bound to it, thinking that he would be burnt to death. While the lad was being subjected to this

excruciating torture and pain, Nar Singh (or Nar Sinh *Avatār* made his appearance from the burning column in the form of a lion; and immediately the metal became as cold as ice. Nar Sinh Ji, whose fury at the insolence of the Raja had no bounds, ripped open his abdomen, and, being pleased with the devotions of the youthful Prahlad Bhagat, placed him on the throne of his father. The god then disappeared. The *mandar* of Prahladpuri (or Pahladpuri, as it is now called) was then made of pure gold, the supporting columns of the roof being of the same material. Sometime after, so the tradition goes, the *mandar*, from some unknown cause, sank below the ground. On the site of the old *mandar* a new one was then constructed, and a new column erected in place of this golden one, with which the young Prahlad had been bound by his father.

Such is the story concerning the origin of this ancient temple recorded in the Hindu *Puranas*. Haran Kishab, of the Hindu *Puranas*, is the same as Haranya Kasipu, whose father, Kasyapa, is believed, according to the Sanscrit texts, to have founded Kasyapapura (otherwise known as Multan), the

oldest name preserved by Abu Rihan under its Sanscrit form.

Being unroofed by the explosion of the powder magazine in 1849, the *mandar* was quite deserted for many years. It was restored, thirty years ago, by Bawa Ram Das, the hereditary guardian of the shrine, chiefly with money raised by subscription, and the present *mandar* was built at a cost of 11,000 rupees.

The position of the *Suraj Kund* has already been described. The tank claims the antiquity as the shrine of Prahladpuri. According to the Hindu *Puranas*, when Nar Sinh Ji *Avatār* killed Raja Haran Kishab, his rage had no bounds. The *Devatas*, to alleviate his wrath, conducted him to this spot, and here all the gods (Nar Sinh Ji being the greater god) refreshed themselves. Among the other notables was the *Suraj Devata*, or the sun-god, who took a fancy to the charming spot. The gods retired quite recruited, and much delighted at the brief repose they had enjoyed at the spot, and, after they had gone, people sunk a well there in commemoration of the event. *Suraj-ji-Maharaj* then manifested himself, and joyfully declared,

"whosoever shall bathe in this tank, his sins will be forgiven, and he will be benefited both in this world and in the next." This voice from the god of light was enough to rouse the spirit of the faithful. Votaries now flock to it from all sides at particular seasons of the year, and it is believed that bathing in its sacred water, besides ensuring emancipation in a future state of existence, has the quality of healing sores and ulcers and conferring blessings in the present life. Besides the two annual fairs previously mentioned, people (men and women) assemble here every Sunday and Friday.

The other places of importance at Multan, connected with the Hindu mythology, are the following:

Mandar Narsinhpuri in the city of Multan. —After the incarnation of Vishnu, in the manner previously indicated, Nar Sinh Ji *Avatar* took his seat in the fort. In consequence of the difficulty experienced by the votaries in finding access to the fort, Bawa Ram Das Pujari set up the image for worship in the city, and eight years ago the preseht shrine'was built to compose the god here. A large fair is held at this shrine, every

year, in Jeth, when thousands of people assemble and make offerings to the god.

Mandar Totla Mai, in the *Haram* gate of the city, is believed to be a very ancient shrine. The Hindus maintain that it flourished when Nar Sinh *Avatar* made his appearance in the lion's shape. When Aurungzeb, whose life-long object was to destroy idolatry and convert the whole world to the Mahomedan Faith, began to persecute[1] the Hindus, the Devi Ji, so the *Puranas* say, having walked on foot, threw herself into the well of the *Dairah*. The well is pointed out to this day in a corner of the shrine as the place where the goddess, overwhelmed with grief, drowned herself. Under the orders of the king, the temple dedicated to the goddess was dismantled, and, according to the fashion of the day, a mosque was built on it. The same night, the king's son, having fallen seriously ill, was cured by the treatment of Kalian Das *Misser*, the traditionary guardian of the shrine, who was also well versed in physic. In reward for this service, the Misser

1. Aurungzeb is said to have massacred 10,000 persons in Multan for descration of Mahomedan mosques and shrines. *Vide "The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh,"* by David Ross, p 101. London 1883.

obtained the king's permission to restore the shrine, and the image of Devi Ji, having been taken out of the well, was set up in a quarter of the city, and a temple raised in its honour, to which the faithful now flock to offer their devotions. Such is the story told by the Hindus regarding the restoration of the shrine, though it is difficult to believe that a bigoted king, like Aurungzeb, should have ordered the restoration of the temple.

Mandar Jog Maya, one mile distant from the city of Multan.—At the grand convention of gods held at Multan to allay the fury and indignation of Nar Sinh Ji, the goddess Jog Maya is said also to have graced the meeting with her presence. The place where she made her first halt at Multan came to be worshipped by the people, and a *mandar* (or temple) having been built on it, the image of Devi Ji was set up, and the place was called the Asthan of *Jog Maya.* The real name of the goddess is *Jot Maya,* having reference to the rays of the sun (*jot* in Hindi meaning rays), but, as offerings of bullocks and buffaloes were made before her for sacrifice, it came to be called *Jog Maya* (*jog* in Panjabi

meaning buffalo or bullock). The present *mandar* was built by Dewan Sarwan Mul at a cost of Rs. 10,000.

Mandar Ram Tirath.—This shrine is situated about a mile to the east of Multan, and has a dharmsala and a tank of *pucka* masonry attached to it. The Hindus maintain that Raja Ram Chandar, the hero of the Ramayana, in his journeyings in the garb of a mendicant (Ban Bans), came to Multan and put up at this spot. The place was consequently held sacred, and a tank was dug to commemorate the visit of Ram Chandar to this part of the country. Bathing in this tank is considered by the Hindus equal to pilgrimage to the sacred Ganges. The tank was surrounded with stairs of *pucka* masonry by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, at an expense of 20,000 rupees. On the *puranmashi* (or the day of the full moon) of Bhadro of every year, a large fair is held here.

The Samadh of Badhla Sant, or the devotee Badhla.—The *Samadh* is situated in Mouzah Dograna, 15 miles east of Multan City. A dharmsala, with a large tank and quarters for the accommodation of travellers, was built close to it by Maharaja Ranjit

Singh, at a cost of Rs. 75,000. On the Bikrami (new year's day) a large fair is held at this shrine, at which about twenty thousand people assemble from Multan and the neighbouring districts of Muzaffargarh, Montgomery, Jhang and Bahawalpur. The place is dedicated to the memory of Badhla Bhagat, whose original name was Buddhu. He resided in Makhdumpur, Pargana Serai Suddhu, and worked as a weighman. It is related that once, while he was weighing corn, a Fakir came to his shop. Buddhu was at that time weighing the contents of the nineteenth scale. It is the practice of the weighman to repeat loudly the number of the weight weighed. So Buddhu was saying, in an audible voice, "*Kul unhi he*" (total nineteen). But the words also signify "He is the only one," having reference to the omnipotence of the Almighty. The Fakir, who heard this, said to the weighman: "Will you absorb your whole attention in the wordly *unhi* (19), or will you also attend to the real *unhi?* (meaning the sole one—the Almighty). The words of the Fakir went straight to the heart of the pious Buddhu, who, forthwith relinquishing his business, went into the jungle and became

a Fakir. His friends and relations pursued him and exhorted him to return to his business, but he had resolved to pass his life as a recluse. He carried this resolution into effect, and his fame as a hermit spread far and wide. It is said that when the people followed him to the jungle, he separated the joints of his body, whereon the people got frightened and returned. He is credited with having worked numerous miracles. At length, having slept one night below a *jal* tree, he miraculously disappeared, and his *samadh* (or tomb) was built close to this tree. Hindus and Mahomedans, while on a visit to this shrine, are forbidden the use of meat as an article of food. It is said that, when the tank was under construction, certain Musalman masons slaughtered a sheep and feasted on it. Thirteen of them died immediately, while the surviving two were heard vehemently repeating the words "*Ram, Ram.*"

Mandar Ram Choutra.—It is beautifully situated in a garden on the banks of the Ravi, five *kos* north-east of Serai Suddhu. The temple was built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, at a cost of Rs. 12,000. It is said that when Raja Ram Chandar came to this part of the

country in the course of his famous journey he had in his train Lachman Ji and Sita Ji. Near Ram Choutra, Ram Chandar Ji took off his clothes, and bathed in the Ravi, Lachman and Sita being at that time separately engaged in worship. The place of the worship of each became famous in after times. That where Ram Chandar had taken off his clothes and bathed is called "Ram Choutra"; that where Lachman was engaged in worship is known as *"Lachman Choutra"*; and that which was occupied by Sita is styled *"Sital Kund."* In the time of Akbar, Sitanand Swami, an ascetic of the Byragi sect, having come here from Brindra Ban, built a *Thakurdoara*, and the Emperor generously made a grant of land for the maintenance of the institution. On the Bysakhi day a large fair is held at this place, which is attended by the people of the neighbouring districts. The spot is picturesque, the river on either side being studded with date-palm and the shady *Bohar* and *Shisham* trees, which render the journey of travellers in hot weather delightful. One rather curious peculiarity of this place is that for about ten miles the Ravi flows quite straight, without exhibiting the

least tendency to bend its course on either bank, while above and below the points the land on both sides is subjected to diluvion. The Hindus explain this circumstance as follows: While Ram Chandar Ji was bathing in the Ravi, his wife, Sita, stood at a distance of ten miles from him, on the river bank. That the sage might cast his looks directly on Sita, the river became as straight as the flight of an arrow, and the sage was thus able to see his wife. The simple fact, however, is that the ground at this spot is hard and firm, and is, on this account, not liable to the action of the river at times of high floods.

The city of Multan and its environs abound with Mahomedan remains of historical and archaeological interest. Prominent among these are the long brick tombs assigned to *Naugazas*, or the "nine-yarders," a term applied in India to the warriors and martyrs of Islam who, at the time of the early invasions of the Mahomedans, fell in action against the Hindus.

General Cunningham counted no less than fifteen of such tombs in Multan, varying from 3½ yards to 54½ feet in length. Outside the *Delhi* gate, beside the tomb of Pir Ghor

Sultan, 35½ feet in length, there is a stone of a chocolate colour with marks of light yellow on it, 27 inches in diameter and 18 inches thick, with a hole through the middle 9 inches in diameter. It is called Manka. People say the saint wore it round his neck, while some maintain it was his thumb ring. The tomb is asserted to be 1,300 years old. It is possible, says General Cunningham, that it may belong to the times of the early Mahomedan invasion under Mahomed Kasam, the Lieutenant of Al Hajjajin.

The Musjid of Ali Mahomed Khan, a fine and superb building, is situate in the midst of the city, in the *Chouk Bazar*, called also the *Gudri Bazar*, from the daily market being held there. It was built by Nawab Ali Mahomed Khan, *Khakwani*, in 1171 A.H. (1757 A.D.), when Viceroy of Multan in the time of Alamgir II. The mosque is provided with a reservoir for the ablutions of the faithful, baths, and a large hall for prayers. It is maintained as a place of worship from the income of the shops attached to it, which amounts to from Rs. 20 to 25 a month. People say that before the construction of the Musjid the river flowed at this spot in a

rapid current, causing much damage to the people, and that when the river changed its course it became a *bela* (or waste) wherein a ferocious lion lived.[1] When the city was peopled, it became a place for the punishment of criminals, and as the population increased the court of the kutwal was established here.

Ali Mahomed Khan built on its site the present mosque. During the Sikh period, the gateway of the Musjid was used as the court-house of *Nazim*, while the great halls were utilized for keeping the *Granth*, or the holy book of the Sikhs. The Musjid was restored to the Mahomedans by the British Government at the commencement of the British rule. Over the gateway of the Musjid the following Persian inscription appears :

Ba fazli ezado Nabi akhire zaman,
Ba yumne hazrate Jilane Ghouse hardo Jahan,
Bajae shahnae bazar behre hadme fisad,
Ke bud chahutrao dare jurm o zulm ayan,
Binae masjido hammamo chaho houze ojib,
Bisakht barsare bazar nazime Multan,
Barae sale binayash zegheb hatif guft.
Namud Masjide 'Ali' Ali Mahomed Khan.

Translation :

"By the grace of God and Prophet, the last of the

1. A similar story is prevalent at Lahore with regard to the Kutwali, or the Police Court in the city. Close to it is the celebrated mosque of Wazir Khan, the Physician Royal of the Emperor Shah Jahan.

> Prophets;
> And the favour of the Saint of Jilan esteemed in both worlds.
> On the site of the Chief Police Magistrate's Court, and with the object of up-rooting wickedness,
> For the place was a manifest source of crime and cruelty,
> This Musjid, bath, well, and admirable cistern
> Were built on the street by the Governor of Multan.
> The invisible voice ordained for the year of its foundation
> The lofty Musjid has been built by Ali Mahomed Khan,"
> 1171 A.H.

The numerical value of the last line (*Namud Masjide 'Ali' Ali Mahomed Khan*), according to the *Abjad* rule, is 1171, which gives the Hijra year of the foundation of the mosque.

Musjid Phul Hattan Wali.—This mosque is situated in the *Choupar Bazar* of the city. The building is ascribed to Furrokh Sere, Emperor of Hindustan (1713 to 1718 A. D.). It is said that the Emperor on his visit to Multan, being childless, asked a *Fakir* to pray on his behalf, that he might be blessed with male issue. The *Fakir* prayed for him, and a son was born to the Empress. His Majesty, through the Governor of Multan, presented the *Fakir* with an offering of Rs. 80,000, and with this money the liberal-minded man had this mosque built. It is called Phul Hattan Wali, from the shops attached to it being used by the flower sellers, called *gulfarosh*.

The Idgah.—This magnificent and spacious

mosque is situated about a mile to the north of the fort. It was here that Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson retired for safety during the siege of Multan, in 1848-94, were surrounded, and finally killed. The length of the mosque exceeds 250 feet, and the breadth is 50 feet. The walls, substantially built of brick and mortar, are thick. The building has seven cupolas, a larger one in the centre and three smaller ones on either side. In the western walls is inserted a tablet, on which is inscribed:

Within this dome,
On 19th April 1848 A.D.,
Were cruelly murdered
PATRICK VANS AGNEW, ESQUIRE,
Bengal Civil Service,
and
LIEUT. WILLIAM ANDERSON,
First Bombay Fusiliers.

The mosque was built in 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.) by Nawab Abdul Samad Khan, when Viceroy of Multan, during the reign of Mahomed Shah. At the commencement of the British rule, Civil Courts were held here, but it was subsequently restored to the Mahomedans on condition of their preserving the tablet above mentioned.

The Musjid of Bakar Abad.—This is situated within the boundary of the village Taraf

Juma Khalsa, two miles east of Multan. It was built by Bakar Ali Khan, Nawab of Multan, in the time of the Moghals. During the Viceroyalty of Diwan Sarwan Mal, oaths were administered to the litigants on the *Koran* in this mosque.

The Am Khas.—Prince Morad Baksh, when Viceroy of Multan, gave private audience to the grandees of State in the citadel, and public audience to the people and the officials of the Crown in this building, which, on that account, came to be called *Am Khas*. Diwan Sarwan Mal also held his court here, and added to it a *Baradari*, or a summer house, which exists to this day. The edifice stands in the midst of a beautiful garden, and the Diwan plated a number of *Bohar* and *Pipal* trees, which give shelter to the people. The building is now utilized as a Tehsil Court.

The Shish Mahal, or the Palace of Mirrors, was constructed by Nawab Mozaffar Khan for his residence, 80 years ago. It is a superb edifice, though divested now of its mirrors, and is utilized as a public office.

The Mausolsum of Sheikh Mahomed Eusuf. —This is situated in the city, close to the city walls, in the quarter known as the Gurdezi

mohulla. It is a quadrangular building, about thirty feet high, decorated with enamelled or glazed tiles. The ceilings are elaborately embellished with tracery in stucco, inlaid with small convex mirrors. There is a fine and chaste mosque to the south, and a building, called *Imam Bara*, constructed at a cost of 80,000 rupees. To the north is a small turret, in which is placed a stone with the impression of a foot on it. The Mahomedans believe that this is the impression of the foot of Ali-ul-murtaza, the son-in-law of Mahomed. The saint, who lies buried here, was born at Gurdez, in 450 A.H. (1058 A.D.), and he moved to Multan in 481 A.H., or 1088 A.D. He obtained great reputation for sanctity and miracles. It is said that, once upon a time, while he was yet a boy, the Shekh was sitting in the presence of his grandfather, Abdullah (a great grandson of Syed Mahomed Ali), when a man came and asked the grandfather for prayers on behalf of his son, who was suffering from some dangerous disease. Abdullah refused to pray. The man's son died, and people were taking his corpse to the grave-yard to bury, when Shekh Eusuf, hearing the lamentations and shrieks of the

deceased's parents, took compassion on him and prayed in his behalf. The dead boy was restored to life, but the old man, the grandfather of the saint, was intensely vexed at the miracle shown by Eusuf, and forthwith turned him out of his house. Eusuf then took to travel, and at last came to India and settled in Multan in the time of Masud II. He died in 531 A.H. (1136 A.D.), and was buried at the spot where he used to perform his devotions.

Numerous miracles are related of this saint; but the following, having reference to the contents of the verses inscribed over the gateway of the mausoleum, deserves mention. It is said that once upon a time, the *jungle* in the neighbourhood of Multan was infested with a ferocious lion, which caused great havoc among the people. The saint was asked to exercise his spiritual power in taming the animal, which had become a terror to the town and its neighbourhood. The saint proceeded to the jungle where the lion lurked, but the beast no sooner saw him than it went up to him quietly, and, like a tame cat, threw itself at his feet. The Shekh, mounted on the back of the lion, was returning to the

city, when on the way a serpent appeared and paid him homage. The sage caught the serpent and used it as a whip for the animal on which he was riding. In this manner he returned to the city.

He made numerous disciples during his residence in Multan. Among the Mahomedans the ceremony of making a disciple consists in the spiritual guide stretching out his hands to grasp those of the intending disciple, who holds out his towards the guide with due humility and respect. Some verses of the *Koran*, or holy Arabic passages, are then read, and the ceremony ends with the recital of the *Fatiha* (or reading chapters of the Koran for the benefit of the souls of the dead). The ceremony is then completed. It is called "*Byat,*" or disciple-making. It is related of the Saint Shekh Eusuf that a man, living in a remote country, having heard of his fame for piety and sanctity, came to Multan about the time of his death, to become his disciple. On arrival there, he learnt, to his great regret and disappointment, that the object of his faith and reverence was no more. Thereupon he went to his tomb to pay his adorations; but, to his great joy, the hands of the Shekh

came out of the grave, and the "*Byat*" was made. A hole in the grave is pointed out by the faithful to this day, from which, it is said the saint put forth his hands to make a proselyte.

The following Persian couplets are inscribed over the gateway of the mausoleum :

Dani saware sher ki dar dast mar kard,
Makhdum Shah Eusuf in ja karar kard,—
Agar geti sarasar bag girad,
Cheraghe Mukbilan hargiz na mirad.
Shah i Eusuf tawalladash me dan,
Shah i Gurdez ra wisal bi khawn.

Translation :

Are you aware of the lion rider who held a serpent in his hands,
He was Makhdum Shah Eusuf, who lies here buried.
Should a hurricane blow throughout the length and breadth of the world,
The lamp of the saints cannot be extinguished.
The date of his birth is obtained from the words "Shah Eusuf" (462),
And the date of his death from the words "Shah Gurdez" (557).[1]

But the saint most famous by far throughout the country watered by the Acesines (Chenab) and the Indus, is Bahawal Hak, the lofty and majestic dome of whose mausoleum is seen for miles around. He is a saint whose name is repeated for the sake of benediction by a Nawab in his palace, a ploughman in

1. Both the dates given in the couplets are wrong. The correct dates have been recorded by us before.

his field, and a boatman while navigating his boat in the midst of a swollen stream. The boatmen, as they ply their poles in the deep waters of the Chenab, or Attock, may be heard repeating, with a loud frantic voice, "*Dam Bahawal Hak,*" and the phrase is fervently repeated until the boat, with its contents, is carried safely to the opposite bank of the river, when oblations of sweetmeats and corn are offered to the saint, the belief being that his departed soul has command over the rivers, and alone has to do with the safe arrival of the boat at its appointed place. A story is current to this day that, by a word, he raised a vessel which had foundered; hence the boatmen of the Chenab and the Indus invoke his name as their Patron Saint.

Shekh Baha-ud-din Zakaria (the Ornament of the Faith), better known by the name of Bahawal Hak, was born at Kot Karor, in Leia, Zilla Dera Ismail Khan, on the 28th Ramazan, 566 A.H. (1170 A.D.).[1] He was a lineal descendant of Asad, the son of Hasham, the grandfather of the Prophet, and the

1. The date given in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, 1149 A.D., is wrong. Compare Griffin's *Punjab Chiefs*, p. 490, with Munshi Hukm Chand's *Tawarikhi Multan*, p. 73.

family is consequently called *Kureshi*, the tribe to which Mahmud belonged. His ancestor, Sultan Husein, ninth in descent from Hasham, accompained Mahmud of Guzni on that sovereign's invasion of Hindustan, and settled at Karor. According to other accounts, the first to leave Mecca was Kamal-ud-din, grandfather of Bahawal Hak, fifth in descent from Sultan Husein, who went first to Khorasan, then to Multan, and finally settled in Karor. He married his son Wajih-ud-din to the daughter of Moulana Hisam-ud-din *Turmandi* of Kot Karor, and the result of the union was Shekh Baha-ud-din Zakaria, born on the morning of Friday, the 28th of Ramazan, 566 A.H. Baha-ud-din was twelve years of age when his father Wajih-ud-din died. At an early age Baha-ud-din, leaving his home, went to Khorasan, and then travelled to Bokhara, where he prosecuted his studies and became a great scholar. For fifteen years he gave instruction to the people, and his fame as a teacher and a saint spread far and wide. He next performed a holy pilgrimage to Mecca, and was for five years employed as an attendant at the Prophet's shrine in Medina. He then visited the temple at Jerusalem, and

travelling over the greater part of Mahomedan Asia, including Syria, went to Baghdad, where he became a disciple of Shekh-ul-Shayukh Shahab-ud-din *Seharwardi*. The Shekh, after seventeen days, bestowed on his disciple a dress of honour, in recognition of his great attainments, and this excited the envy of the other disciples who had been attendant on him for many years, and, notwithstanding all their devotions, had not reached that degree of proficiency which Zakaria had attained. On this, the learned Shekh, addressing his pupils, observed: "You are like the green branches of a tree, and Zakaria is like a dried branch which consumes quickly when brought in contact with a burning fire. It is not your fault, but the aptitude of Zakaria to catch the fire of the love of God." The disciples were satisfied with this explanation, and murmured no more about the distinction bestowed on the foreigner.

After his wanderings, Baha-ud-din Zakaria settled in Multan in 1222 A.D. This was opposed at first, but acquiesced in subsequently, and the fame of Zakaria for sanctity, piety and learning spread throughout the country, and gained for him numerous disciples. He

was visited by Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiar Kaki, the famous Saint of Delhi, in the time of Nasir-ud-din *Kubancha*, the Turkish slave of Mahomed Ghori, who had conquered Multan and Scindh in A.D. 1217, but who was compelled to abandon the conquered country by the army sent against him by Shams-ud-din *Altamash*, and was drowned in the river while attempting to reach the lower country from the Fort of Bhakkar (1225 A.D.). This saint lived to the age of a hundred years. When the time of his death approached, an old man with hoary head and beard suddenly appeared, and, according to the "Chronicles" preserved by the hereditary guardian of the shrine, delivered the sealed cover of a letter to his son Sadr-ud-din (*alias* Sadr Jamal), intimating that it was intended for his aged father. The son took the letter to the father in his closet, and, after delivering it, returned. Immediately the invisible voice came, "*Dost ba Dost rasid*," meaning, that "friend had joined friend," and the death of the saint was soon announced.[1] His death occurred in

1. "Chronicles of the Family of Gurdez" in possession of the Sajjada Nishin of the Khanqah of Bahawal Hak of Multan.

666 A.H., or 1267 A.D. He was contemporary with Ghias-ud-din Ghori, and his age comprises the greater portion of the period during which the house of Ghor and the Slave Kings reigned in India. He was still alive at the accession of Ghias-ud-din Balban, in 1266 A.D., and flourished when Mahomed, the learned son of Ghias-ud-din Balban, who met his death in a conflict with the Moghals, was Viceroy of Multan.

The mausoleum is a square of 51 feet 9 inches, measured internally. Above this is an octagon, about half the height of the square, which is surmounted by a hemispherical dome. The mausoleum was almost completely ruined during the siege of 1848, but was soon afterwards restored by the Mahomedans. The portion to the east, however, still preserves the diaper decorations of enamelled or glazed tiles with which the whole building was originally covered. Sadr-ud-din, the son of Bahawal Hak, is also buried beneath this dome. He was married to Bibi Rasti, and the result of the union was Shekh Rukn-ud-din Abul Fath, commonly known by the title of Rukni Alam,—"Pillar of the world,"—born in 680 A.H. (1281 A.D.).

The mausoleum of the saint last-named (Rukni Alam) is the glory of Multan. Like the tomb of his grandfather, it is in the fort close to the *De* gate on the left. This elegant building is an octagon, 51 feet 9 inches in diameter, internally, with walls 41 feet 4 inches high and 13 feet 3 inches thick, supported at the angles by sloping towers. Over this is a smaller octagon 25 feet 8 inches, on the exterior side, and 26 feet 10 inches high, leaving a narrow passage all round the top of the lower storey for the *Moazzan*, or public crier to prayers. The whole is surmounted by a hemispherical dome of 58 feet external diameter. The total height of the building, including a plinth of 3 feet, is 100 feet 2 inches; but it stands on high ground, and the total height above the country is 150 feet. This contributes materially to the majestic and colossal appearance of the tomb, making it the most prominent object of view to the traveller for a distance of fifteen miles all round.

The structure is entirely of red brick, the whole exterior being elaborately decorated with glazed tile patterns and string courses and battlements. The colours used are dark

blue azure and white, which, contrasted with the deep red of the finely polished bricks, give it a most agreeable effect. "These mosaics," observes General Cunningham, "are not like those of later days, mere plain surfaces, but the patterns are raised from half-an-inch to two inches above the back ground. This mode of construction must have been very troublesome, but its increased effect is undeniable, as it unites all the beauty of variety of colour with the light and shade of a raised pattern."

It is said that the tomb was built by the Emperor Ghias-ud-din Toghlak for himself; but, the Emperor having met with his fatal accident at Delhi, his son Mahomed Toghlak made it over to Rukn-ud-din as his last resting-place. A most important clue to a rather mysterious fact recorded in the History of India is here obtained. Ghias-ud-din Toghlak (originally the son of a Turki slave of Ghias-ud-din *Balban*) was returning to the capital after the conquest of Telinganā and the capture of Warangal, when he was met near the city by his eldest son Juna Khan (afterwards Sultan Mahomed Toghlak). The prince gave his father a most cordial reception, and the

aged king was sumptuously entertained in a wooden pavilion erected for the occasion on the plain beyond Delhi. On the conclusion of the ceremonies, the prince and the nobles having preceded the king, His Majesty was following them with five of his *omerahs*, when the roof gave way, and the king, with his immediate attendants, was crushed to death under its ruins. It is quite possible that the misfortune may have been purely accidental, but the unusualness of erecting such a structure at all, at a distance from the city, the opportune withdrawal of the heir-apparent and his associates at the moment, and the fact that Mahmud, the second son of the Emperor, who enjoyed the confidence of the old sovereign, was involved in the calamity, fixed strong suspicions upon Mahomed, for whom everything turned to much advantage. Ferishta, usually an acute observer, after reviewing contemporary historians, acquits the prince of the charge of designing the catastrophe; but if so high an authority as the saint of Multan referred to by Ibni Batuta, a foreign writer, is to be believed, the conclusion is unavoidable, that the prince had designed the murder of his own father, and that

what happened was the result of a deep plot laid by him against the king's life in conjunction with Malik Ziada, Superintendent of Public Buildings, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of Wazir, with the title of Khwajah Jahan, in recognition, apparently, of this great service to the prince. The saint Rukni Alam was an *eye-witness* to this catastrophe, and the accounts given by Ibni Batuta were obtained direct from him. The traveller writes : "Shekh Rukn-ud-din (Rukni Alam) told me that he was then near the Sultan, and that the Sultan's favourite son, Mahmud, was with them. Thereupon, Mahomed came and said to the Shekh: 'Master, it is now time for afternoon prayers, go down and pray.' 'I went down', said the Shekh, 'and they brought the elephants upon one side *as the prince and his confidant had arranged*; when the animals passed along that side, the building fell down upon the Sultan and his son Mahmud. I heard the noise, and I returned without having said my prayers. I saw that the building had fallen. The Sultan's son Mahomed ordered pick-axes and shovels to be brought to dig and seek for his father, *but he made signs for them not of hurry*, and

the tools were not brought till after sunset. Then they began to dig, and they found the Sultan, who had bent over his son to save him from death."[1]

We are further told by Ibni Batuta that Mohamed had built this pavilion on the bank of the river in the course of three days, "making it chiefly of wood." It was raised from the ground and rested on pillars of wood. Malik Ziada, whose real name was Ahmad (son of Ayas), who had been charged with the execution of the work, had planned it scientifically. "The object which these two persons kept in view in building the *kushk* was this,—that it should fall down with a crash when the elephants touched it in a certain part."

"The Sultan," continues the author, "stopped at this building and feasted the people, who afterwards dispersed. His son asked permission to parade the elephants before him, fully accoutred. The Sultan consented."[2]

We see here how anxious Prince Mahomed was to save the Multan saint, to whom he afterwards gave the picturesque edifice to enshrine his holy remains after death, the

1. Ibni Batuta, p. 130. Elliott, III., 610-11.
2. Ibni Batuta.

object being to purchase his silence regarding the plot against the life of his father.[3]

Rukni Alam, though somewhat inferior in piety and sanctity to his illustrious grandfather Bahawal Hak, was one of the most accomplished men of his age. He taught his disciples a modified form of metempsychosis, and he discoursed with the people on metaphysical subjects. He maintained that, on the day of judgment, the wicked would rise in the form of beasts, according to the nature of sins they had committed on earth. Thus cruel men would rise as leopards; licentious men as goats; the gluttons as pigs, and soon, with reference to the characters they had borne in their state of existence in the world.

He was on terms of great friendship with the saint Nizamud-din of Delhi, and was visited by the Emperors of Delhi more than once. He died on 16th of Rajab, 735 A.H.

3. Such plots are not unknown to Oriental tricks. In 1840 Prince Nou Nehal Singh, son of Maharaja Kharak Singh of the Punjab, was on the very day of his intended coronation, crushed to death by the fall of the battlements of an archway as he was passing beneath it, after performing the funeral ceremonies of his father, on 5th November. The suspicion was never removed that the catastrophe had been designed by the Jammu Rajas, who even did not hesitate to allow the sacrifice of one of their own sons (Mian Udham Singh) in the prosecution of their plan, the Mian who was walking close to the prince at the time being also killed on the spot by the accident.

(1334 A.D.), at the age of 88. The hereditary guardians of the shrine of Bahawal Hak and Rukni Alam are called the Mukhdums of Multan, and they have thousands of disciples in the south of the Punjab and in Sindh.

The Mausoleum of Shamsi *Tabrez* stands about a quarter of a mile to the east of the fort, on the high bank of the old bed of the river Ravi. The tomb is square, 30 feet in height, surmounted by a hemispherical dome, ornamented with glazed sky-blue tiles. The name of the saint is Shams-ud-din, son of Shah Salah, son of Shah Momin, a descendant of Syad Ismail, the son of *Imam* Jaffar. He was born on 17th Rajab, 560 A.H. (1166 A.D), and died on 21st Ramzan, 675 A.H. (1276 A.D.). The original tomb was built by his grandson Sadr-ud-din in 730 A.H. (1329 A.D.), but in the time of Makhdum Safdar Ali (*alias* Makhdum Jiwan Shah), a disciple, by name Syad Mehr Ali, rebuilt it in 1194 A.H. (1779 A.D.) at an expense of 75,000 rupees.[1]

It is related that while Baha-ud-din Zakaria was in the zenith of his fame and power, the saint Shamsi Tabrez, accompanied by a

1. *Tawarikh Zillah Multan*, p. 85.

disciple, arrived at Multan from his home in Persia, having miraculously crossed the Indus on his mosalla, or a small praying carpet. Baha-ud-din, having heard of his arrival, sent for him a cup filled to the brim with milk, implying thereby that Multan was already full of saints, and that there was no room for a new comer. Shams-ud-din returned the milk to the Multan saint, after placing a flower on its surface, meaning that, while the others were like milk, he was himself more distinguished, and possessed the quality of a flower which imparted fragrant flavour and smell. Baha-ud-din was very much annoyed at the slight shown to him by Shams, whom he regarded as an intruder, and he had it proclaimed in the city that nobody was to assist Shams in any way, and that he should not even be supplied with food. The unwelcome comer was himself quite independent of food, but his disciple, a boy of thirteen years of age, on becoming hungry, cried for food. Doves from the wilderness came at the call of the saint, who killed one of these after the orthodox fashion of the Mahomedans. He then sent the boy to the city to get fire with which to cook it. But Baha-ud-din's orders

were meant to be implicitly obeyed. Nobody would supply the hungry young man with fire. Indeed, one confectioner, to whom the boy had gone to ask for fire, had the insolence to dash a vessel of milk against his face. The boy returned to his master with tears in his eyes. The saint's anger was roused, and he called out loudly to the sun : "O Sun ! your name is *Shams* (*Shams* in Arabic meaning Sun), and my name is *Shams*, come near and furnish me with heat to cook my food, which these wicked people deny me." The sun at once drew nearer and the food was cooked ; but it did not return ; and it is asserted that to this day it is one spear's length nearer Multan than to any other part of the globe.

Such is the legend about Shamsi Tabrez and the intense heat of Multan. It is related in various ways ; but all accounts agree in attributing the great heat of Multan to the miracle of the saint, who caused the luminary to descend nearer to the place to cook the venison. Burnes heard one of these stories, which he relates thus :

"Shamsi Tabrez was a saint from Bagdad, who is believed to have performed many

miracles, and even raised the dead. This worthy, as the story is told, was flayed alive for his pretensions. He had long begged his bread in the city, and in his hunger caught a fish, which he held to the sun, and brought that luminary near enough to roast it.

"This established his memory and equivocal fame on a firmer basis. The natives to this day attribute the heat of Multan, which is proverbial, to this incident."[2]

There are two inscriptions on the door of the tomb of Shamsi Tabrez, in the Persian characters, of twelve and fourteen lines respectively, in praise of the miraculous powers of the saint. One of the alcoves in the corridor has decorations in enamelled blue tiles, with the words, "O God," in the centre ; near it is the impression of a hand spread out called "Panja."

Close to the mausoleum of Bahawal Hak is the tomb of Nawab Mozaffar Khan, who fell fighting nobly against the Sikhs in 1818, when Misser Diwan Chand, the General of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, having invested and captured the city, subjected the fort to a

2. *Travels into Bokhara, &c.*, Vol. III, p. 116.

bombardment, which continued from early in February till the 2nd of June, when two large breaches had been effected in the wall by the famous *Zamzama* gun of Ahmad Shah Durrani, which had been brought from Lahore for the purpose. The noble spirit and the heroic bravery displayed by the old Nawab and a handful of his faithful followers in this memorable war are matters belonging to comparatively modern times, the history of which will not be attempted in this paper; yet the following passage, describing the circumstances of his death, may not be out of place here: "The defenders of the fort," says Sir Lepel Griffin in his 'Panjab Chiefs,' "were at length reduced to two or three hundred fighting men, most of them of the family or tribe of Mozaffar Khan. The rest had either been killed, or had gone over to the enemy, for they had been heavily bribed to desert their master, and many of them were unable to resist the temptation. At length, on the 2nd June, an Akali, by name Sadhu Singh, determined to surpass what Phula Singh had done in 1816, rushed with a few desperate followers into an outwork of the fort, and, taking the Afghans by surprise, captured it.

The Sikh forces, seeing their success, advanced to the assault, and mounted the breach at the Khizri gate. Here the old Nawab, with his eight sons, and all that remained of the garrison, stood sword in hand resolved to fight to the death. So many fell beneath the keen Afghan sword, that the Sikhs drew back and opened fire on the little party with their match-locks. 'Come on like men!' shouted the Afghans, 'and let us fall in fair fight?' But this was an invitation the Sikhs did not care to accept. There died the white-bearded Mozaffar Khan, scorning to accept quarter, and there died his five sons, Shahnawaz Khan, Mumtaz Khan, Azaz Khan, Hak Nawaz Khan, Shah Baz Khan."[1] Thus fell Nawab Mozaffar Khan, the last Mahomedan ruler of Multan, doing his duty to his countrymen to the last. His memory is esteemed to this day, as the last of the Saddozie tribe of the Afghans who ruled over the southern Panjab.

The tomb of Nawab Mozaffar Khan is adorned with bright green tiles. Over the top of the entrance is inscribed the Mahomedan

1. *Panjab Chiefs*, p. 486.

confession of faith, and an inscription in the Persian character, of which the following is the translation :

The brave son of the brave
HAJI AKBARZIE MOZAFFAR,
In the day of battle
He made an onset with his sword
In the game of victory.
When he ceased to hear, he exclaimed—
Know that this is the day of triumph :
1233 A.H., 1818 A.D.

On the eastern walls is the inscription :

The dome of this garden
Is meditated on by the world,
The world by this dome was made fortunate.
The world of imagination
Was purified by this garden,
And its garden became like the flower
Of the planet Saturn.
When I asked reason for the date, it said—
Like its rose he was fortunate.
By the labour of Pir Mahomed.[1]

To the right of the shrine of Bahawal Hak, and beyond the well dug by General Cunningham to examine the strata in the inner court, is an obelisk about 50 feet high, with five tall steps to a pedestal 5 feet high. The following inscription appears on a white tablet on the west face of the pedestal :

Beneath this Monument
Lie the remains
of
PATRICK ALEXANDER VANS AGNEW,

1. Eastwick's *Hand-book of the Panjab*, p. 222.

of the Bengal Civil Service,
and
William Anderson,
Lieutenant, 1st Bombay Fusilier Regiment,
Assistants to the Resident at Lahore,
Who being deputed by the Government to
Relieve, at his own request,
Diwan Mul Raj, Viceroy of Multan,
Of the fortress and the authority which
he held,
Were attacked and wounded by the Garrison
On the 19th April 1898,
And, being treacherously deserted by the
Sikh escort,
Were, on the following day,
In flagrant breach
Of national faith and hospitality,
Barbarously murdered
In the Idgah under the walls of Multan.
Thus fell
These two young public servants
At the ages of 25 and 28 years,
Full of high hopes, rare talents, and promise
of Future usefulness. Even in their death
Doing their country honour.
Wounded and forsaken, they could
Oppose no resistance,

But, hand in hand, calmly awaited the
Onset of their assailants ;
Nobly they refused to yield,
Foretelling the day
When thousands of Englishmen should come
To avenge their death
And destroy Mul Raj, his army and fortress.
History records
How their prediction was fulfilled.
Borne to the grave
By their victorious brother soldiers and
Countrymen, they were
Buried with Military honours
Here,
On the summit of the captured citadel,
On 25th January 1849.
The annexation of the Panjab to the Empire
Was the result of the war,
Of which their assassination
Was the commencement.[1]

The ancient commerce of Multan, consisting chiefly of silk, piece-goods, cotton, indigo, and the manufactures of the country, was carried on from Sindh to the ports of Arabia in the Red Sea, or up the Persian Gulf to the

1 A graphic account of the cruel murder of these officers is given by Sir Herbert B. Edwards in his interesting work. "A Year on the Panjab Frontier in 1848-49," Vol. II.

Euphrates, and thence into Phoenicia by the Syrian desert, and finally to Europe. The Arabs monopolised this commerce for many centuries, and they brought from Ceylon, the Indian Archipelago and the coasts of India, perfumes, spices, cassia and cinnamon. Multan is, to this day a great centre of the Panjab trade by means of railways and water communication.

Multan is also celebrated for its silks and fine cotton fabrics of peculiar quality. Very fine *kheses* and *lungis*, with gold borders, are made here, and are considered of great richness and beauty. Some very elegant *shuja khani* silks are produced at Multan.

Beautiful glazed pottery work, in blue and white patterns and in plain colours, has been made at Multan from the time of the early Mahomedan conquest. The art is known under the name of *kansi* or *chini*, and according to local tradition, was introduced from China, through Persia, by the Moghals, through the influence of Tamerlane's Chinese wife. The practice of decorating walls of mosques with coloured porcelain seems to have been introduced simultaneously with the conquest of Persia by the Moghals. On the other

hand, it is admitted that the art of glazing bricks, &c., was known to the ancient Semitic races, namely, the Chaldeans and the Arabians, and was introduced by the latter into European countries. Multan has always been famous for the elegance of design and superiority of finish of its glazed ornamental pottery ; and very fine glazed garden vases, dishes, cups and other forms of pottery are made here.

The passion for conquest and self-aggrandizement, aroused by the preachings of Mahomed and his zealous followers, led to the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs who within a short period of their early conquests in that country penetrated as far as the valley of the Indus. The early Mahomedan rulers proved for the most part intolerant, and they persecuted their Hindu subjects, who showed a tendency to resent such treatment on the first favourable opportunity. The resentment was each time severe and attended with much bloodshed. The Mussalmans, in their turn, were equally severe in punishing the Hindu resentment and in repressing their spirit of rebellion. This fanatical hostility of the two races towards each other resulted in

great massacres and serious damage. We have observed before how the shrine of Prahladpuri was repeatedly destroyed by the Mahomedans, who built mosques in its streets, and how the image was again set up by the Hindus with as much pomp and zeal as ever. Ibni Batuta[1] has preserved a record of an Arabic inscription of Ghias-ud-din Toghlak Shah on the *Jami Masjid*, or the cathedral mosque of Multan, that had been built close to the ancient *Mandir* of Prahladpuri. This inscription the eminent traveller and historian says he had himself seen ; and it is to the following effect :

انی قاتلتُ استتر تسعاً و عشرین مرّة فهزّ متهم فبختہ
سمیتُ بالملکَ الغازی

Meaning :

"I have waged war on the Tartars on twenty-nine occasions and put them to flight ; hence I am known by the name of *Malik-ul Ghazi*, or the hero who fights against the Infidels."

The passage is repeated by Zia Barni.[2]

A sketch of the history of the different Mahomedan sovereignties of Multan, from the early Arab conquests in Sindh to the collapse

1 Ibni Batuta, p. 202.
2 Zia Barni, p. 416.

of the Mahomedan power in the Southern Panjab, has already been given. It may now be interesting to describe briefly the history of the Provincial Governors who played an important part in the politics of this country during the more eventful period of the Moghals and the Saddozies.

When Babar conquered the country he gave the government of Multan to his son ; Mirza Askeri, brother of Humayun Askeri, having been recalled to the Imperial Court, was succeeded by Sef-ud-din Khan Popal Zie.

Humayun, as already noted, gave the Panjab to his brother Kamran Mirza on ascending the throne. The latter sent his Amir to govern the Suba of Multan.

In the time of Akbar the government of Multan was held by Moin-ud-din Khan, and during the reign of his successor, Jahangir, by Fatteh Khan.

Shah Jahan, on ascending the throne, put his youngest son, Murad Baksh, in charge of the government, but, having subsequently deputed the prince to the Deccan, made over the government to Nijabat Khan. Multan was also given, as jagir, to Aurangzeb and

Dara Shekoh successively.

During the time of Aurangzeb, Lashkar Khan, *Subedar* of Kashmir, was appointed Viceroy of Multan. It was then given as jagir to prince Mahomed Moazzam, and again to Prince Mahomed Akbar. After various changes of Governors, that ever suspicious monarch gave it as jagir to Prince Moz-ud-din, and subsequently appointed Hayat Khan as Governor. Hayat Khan having died in 1141 A.H. (*1728* A.D.), Mahomed Shah, the then reigning Emperor, put Abdul Samad Khan Durrani at the head of government. Abdul Samad Khan dying in 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.), Zahid Khan, the ancestor of Nawab Mozaffar Khan, who had held Rangpur on the right of the bank Chenab as jagir, and who was sixth in descent from Saddo Khan, the common ancestor,[1] was acknowledged by the Delhi Epmeror as the first Nawab of Multan. He was a man of considerable learning and ability, and he obtained the acknowledgement through the interest of his friend Kamr-ud-din Khan, Minister at the Court of Delhi, when

1. Born in 1558 A.D. From one branch of Saddo Khan descended the Saddozie Nawabs of Multan, while from another branch, that of Khizr Khan, descended Ahmad Shah Durrani and the Khizr Khyles.

the Empire was already on the wane and the country had been invaded by the adventurous Nadir Shah. This was in 1738. Ishak Khan, the Governor, on behalf of the Emperor, would not submit to the authority of the newly-created Nawab, but he was defeated in a severe action that took place between his troops and those of Zahid Khan, and was finally ousted.

When the Durrani Ahmad Shah invaded India in 1747, he confirmed Zahid Khan in his government of Multan. This led the Delhi Court to suspect the fidelity of Zahid Khan, and Shah Nawaz Khan was sent to supersede him as Governor. Zahid Khan yielded at first but, subsequently collecting his Afghans, gave Shah Nawaz Khan battle. The latter was defeated and put to flight. Shah Nawaz Khan, on his discomfiture, asked the assistance of Mir Moinulmulk, commonly known by his title of Mir Mannu, the Governor of Lahore, but the latter, who always hated Shah Nawaz as his rival, instead of rendering him any help, sent a force against him under his Diwan, Koura Mal, whom he appointed his deputy at Multan. A fight took place between the troops of Koura Mal and Shah Nawaz Khan at a place about 40 miles from Multan,

in which the latter was defeated and slain.

On the approach of Koura Mal, who had been created Raja by the Viceroy of Lahore in recognition of his services, Zahid Khan retired to Sitapur, and the Raja assumed the Governorship of Multan.

Koura Mal was slain in a war with Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1752, and Mir Mannu, having made peace with that sovereign, appointed Ali Mahomed Khan,[1] an Afghan officer, Governor of Multan.

The Mahrattas overran the Panjab in 1757, and sent Saleh Beg and Sanjli Beg to capture Multan. Ali Mahomed Khan fled on their approach, and Multan was occupied by the Mahrattas. These mercenaries did not, however, remain long in the Panjab, and Ahmed Shah being again on the scene, appointed Khwaja Yakut to the government of Multan. The Khwaja proved a feeble Governor, and was, on the departure of Ahmad Shah from the country, expelled by Ali Mahomed Khan who again resumed the Nawabship.

Zahid Khan died in 1749. Ahmad Shah Durrani, on hearing of the change of Gover-

1. He was the founder of the Jami Masjid in the Chouk of Multan.

norship in Multan, wrote to Shuja Khan, son of Zahid Khan, to assume the Nawabship.

Shuja Khan collecting his Afghans, expelled Ali Mahomed Khan, who submitted, and Shuja Khan became the Mawab. In 1817, Samvat, he built the beautiful city of Shujaabad and its fortress, twenty-three miles south of Multan. This city he surrounded with a wall, which was made *pucca* in aftertimes by Diwan Sarwan Mal. The restless Ali Mahomed Khan appeared in arms against Shuja Khan, who was defeated and thrown into prison, and Ali Mahomed Khan once more became Nawab. Incensed at these proceedings, the Durrani monarch reached Multan in 1767, and the turbulent Ali Mahomed Khan and his sons were both ripped up. Their bodies were thrown across the back of camels and paraded through the streets of Multan, and it was promulgated by beat of drum that such would be the fate of any one who should dare to show opposition to a Saddozie ruler. Shuja Khan again resumed the government, and Ahmed Shah retraced his steps to Kabul. Shuja Khan was the father of Mozaffar Khan, the last Mahomedan rule of Multan.